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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

A CLERICAL DEFENCE OF TREASON AND REBELLION.

APPEAL OF SOUTHERN CLERGYMEN "TO CHRISTIANS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD."

RICHMOND, April 23, 1863.

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN: In the name of our Holy Christianity we address you in this form, respecting matters of great interest to us, which we believe deeply concern the cause of our blessed Master, and to which we invoke your serious attention.

We speak not in the spirit of controversy, not by political inspiration, but as servants of the Most High God we speak the "truth in love," concerning things which make for peace.

In the midst of war—surrounded by scenes that pain the souls of all good men—deploring the evils which are inseparable from national contentions, we feel most deeply impressed by the conviction, that for our own sake, for the sake of our posterity, for the sake of humanity, for the sake of the truth, and, above all, for the sake of our Redeemer's kingdom, it behooves us to testify of certain things in our beloved land, which seem to be neither understood nor appreciated by our enemies, nor yet clearly appreciated by Christians of other nations.

We put forth this address after much prayer, solemnly invoking the blessing of Almighty God, and committing what we say to that Providence by which we trust we are directed, and by whose authority and power the governments of the earth stand or fall.

If we were moved to make this address by any fears of the final issue of the war in which our country is now engaged; by any inclination to meddle with political questions; by any desire to resume controversy in respect to matters which have been referred to the arbitration of the sword; if, indeed, anything that compromised the simplicity, dignity and purity of Christian duty, moved us to issue this address, we should deserve to have it despised by you, and could hope for no blessing of God to rest upon it. But for all that we say in the following declarations, we are willing to be judged by succeeding generations, and to answer in that day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be made known.

We do not propose to discuss the *causes* of the war. They are matters of recent history, easily known and read of all men. To discuss them would obviously involve much more than, as Christian ministers, we feel it our province to argue.

We submit for your consideration as the first point of our testimony and ground of protest:

That the war waged against our people, in principle and fact, proposes to achieve that which, in the nature of the case, it is impossible to accomplish by violence. The war proposes the restoration of the *Union.*

We can rationally suppose a war for conquest, or to expel an invader, or to compel respect for stipulations of peace and international intercourse which have been violated; but how measures of violence can reunite independent States, restore their broken fellowship, reëstablish equality of representative rights, or coerce a people to brotherly kindness, unity and devotion to each other, is utterly beyond our conception.

But if our enemies be disingenuous in their professions; if they fight not to *recover* seceded States, but to *subjugate* them, what promise do men find in the numbers, intelligence, courage, resources and moral energies of the millions who inhabit the Confederate States, that such a people can ever become profitable or happy, as subordinate to mere military force? If subjugation, therefore, were possible, is it desirable? Would the United States gain anything? Would Christian civilization gain anything? Said a great British statesman in 1775, when arguing in favor of adopting conciliatory measures in respect to the revolted colonies of America—colonies, not seceding States—that were in actual rebellion against their sovereign: "The use of force is but *temporary.* It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity for subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. My next objection is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force, and an armament is not a victory. * * * A further objection to force is, that you *impair the object* by your very endeavors to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing you recover."

Christian brethren, could the hand of violence win you to desire fellowship with a people while it destroyed your peace, polluted your sanctuaries, invaded the sacred precincts of your homes, robbed you of your property, slaughtered your noble sons, clothed your daughters in grief, filled your land with sorrow, and employed its utmost strength to reduce your country to the degradation of a subjugated province? Would it not rather animate you to prefer death—honorable death—the patriot's alternative, the Christian's martyrdom?

As an excuse for violence, our enemies charge that the Confederate States have attempted to overthrow "*the best government on earth*"; and call us "traitors," "rebels." We deny the charge, and as to the epithets, if they defined our position, under the circumstances, we would glory in them, as do the people of God when persecuted for truth and conscience sake. But we regard such terms as gratuitously assuming the very point at issue. If employed sincerely, we will not complain; but we are persuaded that many have uttered these expressions under the influence of resentful feelings, who would not otherwise assert the doctrines they imply. We are not disposed to engage in angry retort, and only mention these things to show that we appreciate them.

It will appear singular when men reflect upon it, that so many intelligent and Christian people should desire to withdraw from "*the best government on earth*"! And we need not discuss the kindness of those who so generously propose to confer on us by *force of arms* "*the best government.*"

No attempt has been made to overthrow the government of the United States, unless by the fanatical party which now administers its affairs. The South never entertained such an idea. If that government fall for lack of Southern support, let men discriminate between the downfall of an oppression when the oppressed have escaped and a wanton effort to break up good government. So Pharaoh fell, but not by the hand of Israel. The dismemberment of the Union by secession was not a blow at the government. It was for our own deliverance. It was an election of the people, only hastened, and in some cases rendered inoperative, by the violent movements of the Executive of the United States—Virginia may be referred to as an illustration. The State was not willing to secede hastily; but the demand of President Lincoln that she furnish troops to fight her sister States ended all hesitation. At once she took position with the Confederacy, preferring to battle in defence of liberty rather than in opposition to all her principles, to invade or suffer the invasion of the South.

So far, therefore, from desiring to destroy the United States government, the great object of those States which *first* seceded was to secure their own rights and their tranquillity; while the *immediate* object of the States which *last* seceded was to place themselves as barriers in the way of a fanatical Administration, and, if possible, stay the bloody effort to coerce independent States to remain in the Union, when their constitutional rights would not be respected, and when the very purpose to coerce them showed a readiness to sacrifice the lives of citizens to the demands of sectional hostility. The South would never vote in favor of annexing or retaining a Northern State by force of arms. Instead, therefore, of waging war for the overthrow of the United States, the Confederate States simply defend themselves.

The war is forced upon us. We have always desired peace. After a conflict of opinions between the North and the South, in Church and State, of more than thirty years, growing more bitter and painful daily, we withdraw from them to secure peace—they send troops to compel us into reunion! Our proposition was peaceable separation, saying, "we are *actually* divided, our *nominal* union is a platform of strife." The answer is a call for *seventy-five thousand* troops to force submission to a government whose character, in the judgment of the South, had been sacrificed to sectionalism. From the speech of Mr. Burke, already referred to, the following language may be quoted as not inappropriate to our position in respect to peace:

"THE PROPOSITION IS PEACE. Not peace through the medium of war; not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations; not peace to arise out of universal discord, fomented from principle, in all parts of the empire; not peace to depend on the judicial determination of perplexing questions, or the precise marking the shadowy boundaries of a complex government. It is simple peace, sought in the spirit of peace and laid in principles purely pacific."

Such a proposition of peace was clearly the appropriate duty of a Christian people. The South can point out on the page of history the names, and refer to the earnest and repeated efforts of her commissioners of peace. But our foes preferred war—violence—and by violence the end they aimed at was unattainable, as the purpose was unworthy of a Christian nation. *Against this violence*, upon principle, and in the light of all the facts of the case, we, as the servants of God and ministers of peace, testify and solemnly protest.

The second general point which we submit for your Christian consideration is:

The separation of the Southern States is universally regarded by our people as final, and the formation of the Confederate States government as a fixed fact, promising in no respect a restoration of the former Union.

Politically and ecclesiastically, the line has been drawn between North and South. It has been done distinctly, deliberately, finally, and in most solemn form. The Confederacy claims to possess all the conditions and essential characteristics of an independent government. Our institutions, habits, tastes, pursuits and religion suggest no wish for a reconstruction of the Union. We regard the Confederacy, in the wise providence of the Almighty, as the result of causes which render its independent existence a moral and political necessity, and its final and future independence of the United States not a matter that admits of the slightest doubt.

Among all the indefensible acts growing out of the inexcusable war waged against us, we will refer to one especially, in regard to which, for obvious reasons, we would speak, and as becometh us, plainly and earnestly: *the recent proclamation of the President of the United States, seeking the emancipation of the slaves of the South, is, in our judgment, a suitable occasion for solemn protest on the part of the people of God throughout the world.*

First, upon the hypothesis that the proclamation could be carried out in its design, we have no language to describe the bloody tragedy that would appal humanity. Christian sensibilities recoil from the vision of a struggle that would inevitably lead to the slaughter of tens of thousands of poor deluded insurrectionists? Suppose their owners suffered; in the nature of things, the slaves would suffer infinitely more. Make it absolutely necessary for the public safety that the slaves be slaughtered, and he who should write the history of that event would record the darkest chapter of human woe yet written.

But, *secondly*, suppose the proclamation—as indeed we esteem it in the South—a mere political document, devised to win favor among the most fanatical of the Northern people, uttering nothing that has not already been attempted, practically, but in vain, by the United States; suppose it to be worth no more than the paper upon which its bold iniquity is traced, nevertheless it is the avowal of a principle, the declaration of a wish, the deliberate attempt of the chief magistrate of a nation to do that which, as a measure of war, must be repugnant to civilization, and which *we* calmly denounce as worthy of universal reprobation, and against which Christians, in the name of humanity and religion, ought to protest.

What shall sound Christianity say to that one-idea philanthropy which, in the name of an *imaginary* good, in blind fury, rushes upon a thousand *unquestionable* evils?

If it were the time for such argument, we should not fear the issue of a full discussion of this whole question of slavery. We fear no investigation, we decline no debate; but we would not, at an hour like this, and in an address which is chiefly a protest, invoke the spirit of controversy. We content ourselves with what we regard as infinitely more solemn; we stand before the world, while war silences the voices of disputants, and men in deadly contention wrestle on fields of blood, *protesting* against the crimes that in the name of liberty and philanthropy are attempted! Let it go forth from our lips while we live; let it be recorded of us when we are dead, that we—ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ, and members of His holy Church, with our hands upon the Bible, at once the sacred chart of our liberties, and the foundation of our faith—call heaven and earth to record, that in the name of Him whose we are, and whom we serve, *we protest!* No description we can give of this measure of the Executive of the United States, even though indignation alone inspired us to utter it, would exaggerate what we regard as an unholy infatuation, a ruthless persecution, a cruel and shameful device, adding severity and bitterness to a wicked and reckless war.

When it is remembered that, in the name of "*a military necessity*," this new measure was adopted, we may pass by the concession of weakness implied in this fact, and content ourselves with calling attention to the *immorality* of a necessity created by a needless war of invasion. "Military necessity!" an excuse, not for self-defence, not for self preservation, but for violating the laws of civilized warfare, and attempting a barbarity. If "military necessity" be the inspiration to attempt emancipation, how shall men praise it as philanthropy? Are other nations uninterested in such conduct? Proclaim the right first to invade and subjugate independent States, exhaust all resources, and then avow the principle of "military necessity" as an excuse to add severity to the wrong, as a plea upon which to project a scheme, violative of every manly, honorable and Christian sentiment! Suppose an invader happens to be too *weak* to conquer upon any other plan, has he, therefore, the right to proclaim that poison and the indiscriminate slaughter of women and children shall be his legal method? The common cause of humanity, and the common hopes of Christian civilization, as they appeal to every nation, cry out against this wretched subterfuge. If the "military necessity" of *weakness* may righteously adopt any measures that an invader's ingenuity can invent, or his malice suggest, what laws, what principles of justice and equity, shall nations at war respect?

At one time the world is told "the rebellion is weak, and will be crushed out in sixty days"; at another, "Union men abound in the South and will welcome United States troops as deliverers," and *now* the invader is so hopeless of his task, that it is a "military necessity" that he obtain help of slaves! May it not be pertinently asked, what, that is creditable to this invasion, ought men to believe, and to what end is this deceitful war waged? When this last resort, like all the enemy's preceding schemes, shall signally fail, as it certainly will, to achieve the ruin of the South, what is promised? Nothing, but war! cruel, relentless, desperate war! Because the President by his scheme violates the Constitution, we *might* condemn him; though the constitutionality of his acts be less important to us than to the people over whom he presides; because he has violated his word, his *special promise*, and even his solemn oath of office, we *might* abhor his act; though that is a matter which may chiefly concern his conscientiousness, and illustrate the character of that officer whom Southerners refuse to salute as their President; because of the diabolical mischief *intended*, we might in the name of Heaven indignantly denounce his proclamation; though no weapon formed against us be, practically, more harmless. But these are not the considerations which move us to protest; we solemnly protest *because under the disguise of philanthropy, and the pretext of doing good, he would seek the approbation of mankind upon a war that promises to humanity only evil, and that continually.*

Let philanthropists observe, according to its own terms, this measure is in no proper sense an act of mercy to the slave, but of malice toward the master: It provides for freeing *only the slaves of those who fight* against the United States. The effort is not to relieve that government of slavery, where the philanthropy has full opportunity for displaying its generosity, and the power to exercise it in respect to slavery, if it exist at all, can be indulged; but the effort is simply to invoke slavery as an agent against the South, reckless of the consequences to the slaves themselves. Shall a pretext at once so weak and so base mislead intelligent men, and make them imagine Abraham Lincoln as a philanthropist! His position ought to be offensive to every sincere Abolitionist, as well as disgusting to every sincere friend of the slave of every shade of opinion, on the question of slavery. How does it affect the cause of the Confederacy? If to awaken a deeper resentment than ever inflamed the people of the South before; if to quench the last sentiment of respect that lingered in their breasts for the United States government; if to unite them more resolutely than ever, and to make it to the individual interest of every person in the bounds of the Confederacy to sustain and strengthen it with every dollar and every arm, and every prayer, and every energy of manly virtue and Christian encouragement, be to advance the invader's interest, and give him hope of success, then has the proclamation furnished him opportunity of congratulating himself.

We submit farther: *That the war against the Confederate States has achieved no good result, and we find nothing in the present state of the struggle that gives promise of the United States accomplishing any good by its continuance.* Though hundreds of thousands of lives have been lost, and many millions of treasure spent; though a vast amount of valuable property has been destroyed, and numbers of once happy homes made desolate; though cities and towns have been temporarily captured, and aged men and helpless women and children have suffered such things as it were even a shame to speak of plainly; though sanctuaries have been desecrated, and the ministers of God been dragged from sacred altars to loathsome prisons; though slaves have been instigated to insurrection, and every measure has been adopted that the ingenuity of the enemy could devise, or his ample resources afford by sea and land; yet we aver, without fear of contradiction, that the only possession which the United States hold in the Confederate States is the ground on which United States troops pitch their tents; and whenever these troops withdraw from a given locality in our territory, the people resident therein testify a warmer devotion to the Confederate cause than even before their soil was invaded. Nothing is therefore conquered—no part of the country is subdued; the civil jurisdiction of the United States, the real test of their success, *has not been established by any force of arms.* Where such civil jurisdiction exists at all along the border, it has existed all the while, was not obtained by force, and is not the fruit of conquest. This fact is admitted by our enemies themselves.

It is worthy of special notice, that notwithstanding the gigantic exertions of the United States, they have not been able to secure the return of a single County, or section of a County, much less a single State that has seceded. No civil order and peace spring up in the track of their armies. All in front of them is resolute resistance, and behind them, when they have entered our territory, is deep, uncompromising opposition over which only military force can for a moment be trusted. Thus the civilized world is called upon to observe an invasion which has lasted for nearly two years, and achieved nothing but cruelty. Before it a people ready to die, but neither ready to submit, nor weak enough to be conquered; and for its gloomy prospect an interminable war, growing more bitter and unfeeling every day, because more hopeless to them that by it have sought things impossible as unrighteous. In the name of the great Prince of Peace, has Christianity, has civilization nothing to say to such an awful tragedy! Such is the war for the *Union!* Yet every day our foes are deepening and widening the river of blood which divides us from them forever!

The only change of opinion among our people since the beginning of the war, that is of material importance to the final issue, has been the change from all lingering attachment to the former Union, to a more sacred and reliable devotion to the Confederate government. The sentiments of the people are not alterable in any other respects by force of arms. If the whole country were occupied by United States troops, it would merely exhibit a military despotism, against which the people would struggle in perpetual revolutionary effort, while any Southrons remained alive. Extermination of the inhabitants could alone realize civil possession of their soil. Subjugation is therefore clearly impossible. Is extermination desired by Christians?

The moral and religious interests of the South ought to be appreciated by Christians of all nations.

These interests have realized certainly no benefit from the war. We are aware that in respect to the moral aspects of the question of slavery, we differ from those who conceive of emancipation as a measure of benevolence, and on that account we suffer much reproach which we are conscious of not deserving. With all the facts of the system of slavery in its practical operations before us, "as eye witnesses and ministers of the Word, having had perfect understanding of all things" on the subject of which we speak, we may surely claim respect for our opinions and statements. Most of us have grown up from childhood among the slaves; all of us have preached to and taught them the Word of Life; have administered to them the ordinances of the Christian Church; sincerely love them as souls for whom Christ died; we go among them freely and know them in health and sickness, in labor and rest, from infancy to old age. We are familiar with their physical and moral condition and alive to all their interests; and we testify in the sight of God, that the relation of master and slave among us, however we may deplore abuses in this, as in other relations of mankind, is not incompatible with our holy Christianity, and that the presence of the Africans in our land is an occasion of gratitude in their behalf, before God; seeing that thereby Divine Providence has brought them where missionaries of the cross may freely proclaim to them the word of salvation, and the work is not interrupted by agitating fanaticism. The South has done more than any people on earth for the christianization of the African race. The condition of slaves here is not wretched, as Northern fictions would have men believe, but prosperous and happy, and would have been yet more so but for the mistaken zeal of Abolitionists. Can emancipation obtain for them a better portion?

The practicable plan for benefiting the African race must be the providential plan—the scriptural plan. We adopt that plan in the South, and while the States should seek by wholesome legislation to regard the interest of master and slave, we as ministers would preach the Word to both as we are commanded of God. This war has not benefited the slaves. Those that have been encouraged or compelled by the enemy to leave their masters have gone, and we aver can go, to no state of society that offers them any better things than they have at home, either in respect to their temporal or eternal welfare. We regard abolitionism as an interference with the plans of Divine Providence. It has not the signs of the Lord's blessing. It is a fanaticism which puts forth no good fruit; instead of blessing, it has brought forth cursing; instead of love, hatred; instead of life, death—bitterness and sorrow, and pain and infidelity, and moral degeneracy follow its labors. We remember how the apostle has taught the minister of Jesus upon this subject, saying: "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and His doctrine be not blaspheme. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren; but rather do them service because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. *These things teach and exhort.* If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt mind and destitue of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness; from such withdraw thyself."

This is what we teach, and obedient to the last verse of the text, from men that "teach otherwise"—hoping for peace—we "withdraw" ourselves.

The Christians of the South, we claim, are pious, intelligent and liberal. Their pastoral and missionary works have points of peculiar interest. There are hundreds of thousands here, both white and colored, who are not strangers to the blood that bought them. We rejoice that the great Head of the Church has not despised us. We desire, as much as in us lieth, to live peaceably with all men, and though reviled, to revile not again.

Much harm has been done to the religious enterprises of the Church by the war; we will not tire you by enumerating particulars. We thank God for the patient faith and fortitude of our people during these days of trial:

Our soldiers were, before the war, our fellow-citizens, and many of them are of the household of faith, who have carried to the camp so much of the leaven of Christianity, that amid all the demoralizing influences of army life the good work of salvation has gone forward there.

Our President, some of our most influential statesmen, our commanding General, and an unusual proportion of the principal Generals, as well as scores of other officers, are prominent, and, we believe, consistent members of the Church. Thousands of our soldiers are men of prayer. We regard our success in the war as due to divine mercy, and our government and people have recognized the hand of God in the formal and humble celebration of His goodness. We have no fear in regard to the future. If the war continues for years we believe God's grace sufficient for us.

In conclusion, we ask for ourselves, our Churches, our country, the devout prayers of all God's people—"the will of the Lord be done."

Christian brethren, think on these things, and let your answer to our address be the voice of enlightened Christian sentiment going forth from you, against war, against persecution for conscience sake, against the ravaging of the Church of God by fanatical invasion. But if we speak to you in vain, nevertheless we have not spoken in vain in the sight of God; for we have proclaimed the truth—we have testified in behalf of Christian civilization—we have invoked charity—we have filed our solemn protest against a cruel and useless war. And our children shall read it and honor our spirit, though in much feebleness we may have borne our testimony.

"Charity beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." We desire to "follow after charity"; and "as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God."

NOTES.

1. In publishing the foregoing address it is proper to declare explicitly, that its origin was from no political source whatever, but from a conference of ministers of the Gospel in the city of Richmond.

The signatures are confined to this class because it was believed that, on the points presented, the testimony of men holding this office might be received with less prejudice than that of any other. These signatures might have been indefinitely increased. Only a limited number of names—much less than at first intended—was solicited; and as they are still coming in, some will probably be received too late for insertion. These appended represent more or less fully every accessible section of the Confederacy, and nearly every denomination of Christians. They are ample for the chief objects intended, namely, to bear witness to the Christian world that the representations here made concerning the public sentiment of the South are true, and to carry a solemn protest against the continuance of this fruitless and unrighteous war.

2. From the best sources of information it is ascertained that the whole number of communicants in the Christian Churches in the Confederate States is about two million and fifty thousand.

Of these the number of white communicants is about *one million five hundred and fifty thousand.* Supposing the total white population to be *eight million*, and one-half that number to be over eighteen years of age, a little more than *one-third* of the adult population are members of the Church of Christ.

The number of *colored communicants* is about *five hundred thousand.* Assuming the colored population to be four million, there would be, upon the same method of computation, *one-fourth* of the adult population in communion with the Church of Christ. Thus has God blessed us in gathering into his Church from the children of Africa more than twice as many as are reported from all the converts in the Protestant Missions throughout the heathen world.

[The address is signed by ninety-five clergymen, representing the principal Protestant denominations at the South.]

Selections.

THE PRESIDENT ON ARBITRARY ARRESTS.

REPLY TO THE ALBANY DEMOCRATIC RESOLUTIONS.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 12, 1863.

Hon. Erastus Corning and others:

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of May 16, enclosing the resolutions of a public meeting held at Albany, N. Y., on the 16th of the same month, was received several days ago.

The resolutions, as I understand them, are resolvable into two propositions—first, the expression of a purpose to sustain the cause of the Union, to secure peace through victory, and to support the Administration in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and secondly, a declaration of censure upon the Administration for supposed unconstitutional action, such as the making of military arrests. And, from the two propositions, a third is deduced, which is that the gentlemen composing the meeting are resolved on doing their part to maintain our common government and country, despite the folly or wickedness, as they may conceive, of any Administration. This position is eminently patriotic, and as such, I thank the meeting, and congratulate the nation for it. My own purpose is the same; so that the meeting and myself have a common object, and can have no difference, except in the choice of means or measures for effecting that object.

And here I ought to close this paper, and would close it, if there were no apprehension that more injurious consequences than any merely personal to myself might follow the censures systematically cast upon me for doing what, in my view of duty, I could not forbear. The resolutions promise to support me in every constitutional and lawful measure to suppress the rebellion; and I have not knowingly employed, nor shall knowingly employ, any other. But the meeting, by their resolutions, assert and argue that certain military arrests, and proceedings following them, for which I am ultimately responsible, are unconstitutional. I think they are not. The resolutions quote from the Constitution the definition of treason, and also the limiting safeguards and guarantees therein provided for the citizen on trial for treason, and on his being held to answer for capital or otherwise infamous crimes, and, in criminal prosecutions, his right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury. They proceed to resolve "that these safeguards of the rights of the citizen against the pretensions of arbitrary power were intended more *especially* for his protection in times of civil commotion." And apparently to demonstrate the proposition, the resolutions proceed: "They were secured substantially to the English people *after* years of protracted civil war, and were adopted into our Constitution at the *close* of the revolution." Would not the demonstration have been better, if it could have been truly said that these safeguards had been adopted and applied *during* the civil wars and *during* our revolution, instead of *after* one and at the *close* of the other? I, too, am devotedly for them *after* civil war, and *before* civil war, and at all times, "except when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require" their suspension. The resolutions proceed to tell us that the safeguards "have stood the test of seventy-six years of trial, under our republican system, under circumstances which show that while they constitute the foundation of all free government, they are the elements of the enduring stability of the republic." No one denies that they have so stood the test up to the beginning of the present rebellion, if we except a certain occurrence at New Orleans; nor does any one question that they will stand the same test much longer after the rebellion closes. But these provisions of the Constitution have no application to the case we have in hand, because the arrests complained of were not made for treason—that is, not for *the* treason defined in the Constitution, and upon the conviction of which the punishment is death—nor yet were they made to hold persons to answer for any capital or otherwise infamous crime; nor were the proceedings following, in any constitutional or legal sense, "criminal prosecutions." The arrests were made on totally different grounds, and the proceedings following accorded with the grounds of the arrests. Let us consider the real case with which we are dealing, and apply to it the parts of the Constitution plainly made for such cases.

Prior to my installation here, it had been inculcated that any State had a lawful right to secede from the National Union, and that it would be expedient to exercise the right, whenever the devotees of the doctrine should fail to elect a President to their own liking. I was elected contrary to their liking; and, accordingly, so far as it was legally possible, they had taken seven States out of the Union, had seized many of the United States forts, and had fired upon the United States flag, all before I was inaugurated, and, of course, before I had done any official act whatever. The rebellion thus began soon ran into the present civil war; and, in certain respects, it began on very unequal terms between the parties. The insurgents had been preparing for it more than thirty years, while the government had taken no steps to resist them. The former had carefully considered all the means which could be turned to their account. It undoubtedly was a well-pondered reliance with them that in their own unrestricted efforts to destroy Union, Constitution, and law all together, the government would, in great degree, be restrained by the same Constitution and law from arresting their progress. Their sympathizers pervaded all departments of the government, and nearly all communities of the people. From this material, under cover of "liberty of speech," "liberty of the Press," and "*habeas corpus*," they hoped to keep on foot among us a most efficient corps of spies, informers, suppliers, and aiders and abettors of their course in a thousand ways. They knew that in times such as they were inaugurating, by the Constitution itself, the "*habeas corpus*" might be suspended; but they also knew they had friends who would make a question as to *who* was to suspend it; meanwhile their spies and others might remain at large to help on their cause. Or if, as has happened, the Executive should suspend the writ, without ruinous waste of time, instances of arresting innocent persons might occur, as are always likely to occur in such cases; and then a clamor could be raised in regard to this, which might be, at least, of some service to the insurgent cause. It needed no very keen perception to discover this part of the enemy's programme, so soon as by open hostilities their machinery was fairly put in motion. Yet, thoroughly imbued with a reverence for the guarranteed right of individuals, I was slow to adopt the the strong measures which by degrees I have been forced to regard as being within the exceptions of the Constitution, and as indispensable to the public safety. Nothing is better known to history than that courts of justice are utterly incompetent to such cases. Civil courts are organized chiefly for trials of individuals, or, at most, a few individuals acting in concert; and this in quiet times, and on charges of crimes well defined in the law. Even in times of peace bands of horse-thieves and robbers frequently grow too numerous and powerful for the ordinary courts of justice. But what comparison, in numbers, have such bands ever borne to the insurgent sympathizers even in many of the loyal States? Again, a jury too frequently has at least one member more ready to hang the panel than to hang the traitor. And yet, again, he who dissuades one man from volunteering, or induces one soldier to desert, weakens the Union cause as much as he who kills a Union soldier in battle. Yet this dissuasion or inducement may be so conducted as to be no defined crime of which any civil court would take cognizance.

Ours is a case of rebellion—so called by the resolutions before me—in fact, a clear, flagrant, and gigantic case of rebellion; and the provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion, or invasion, the public safety may require it," is *the* provision which specially applies to our present case. This provision plainly attests the understanding of those who made the Constitution, that ordinary courts of justice are inadequate to "cases of rebellion"—attests their purpose that, in such cases, men may be held in custody whom the courts, acting on ordinary rules, would discharge. *Habeas corpus* does not discharge men who are proved to be guilty of defined crime; and its suspension is allowed by the Constitution on purpose that men may be arrested and held who cannot be proved to be guilty of defined crime, "when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it." This is precisely our present case—a case of rebellion, wherein the public safety does require the suspension. Indeed, arrests by process of courts, and arrests in cases of rebellion, do not proceed altogether upon the same basis. The former is directed at the small percentage of ordinary and continuous perpetration of crime, while the latter is directed at sudden and extensive uprisings against the government, which, at most, will succeed or fail in no great length of time. In the latter case, arrests are made, not so much for what has been done, as for what probably would be done. The latter is more for the preventive and less for the vindictive than the former. In such cases the purposes of men are much more easily understood than in cases of ordinary crime. The man who stands by and says nothing when the peril of his government is discussed, cannot be misunderstood. If not hindered, he is sure to help the enemy; much more, if he talks ambiguously—talks for his country with "buts" and "ifs" and "ands." Of how little value the constitutional provisions I have quoted will be rendered, if arrests shall never be made until defined crimes shall have been committed, may be illustrated by a few notable examples. Gen. John C. Breckinridge, Gen. Robert E. Lee, Gen. Joseph E Johnston, Gen. John B. Magruder, Gen. William B. Preston, Gen. Simon B. Buckner, and Commodore Franklin Buchanan, now occupying the very highest places in the rebel war service, were all within the power of the government since the rebellion began, and were nearly as well known to be traitors then as now. Unquestionably if we had seized and held them, the insurgent cause would be much weaker. But no one of them had then committed any crime defined in the law. Every one of them, if arrested, would have been discharged on *habeas corpus* were the writ allowed to operate. In view of these and similar cases, I think the time not unlikely to come when I shall be blamed for having made too few arrests rather than too many.

By the third resolution the meeting indicate their opinion that military arrests may be constitutional in localities where rebellion actually exists, but that such arrests are unconstitutional in localities where rebellion or insurrection does not actually exist. They insist that such arrests shall not be made "outside of the lines of necessary military occupation and the scenes of insurrection." Inasmuch, however, as the Constitution itself makes no such distinction, I am unable to believe that there is any such constitutional distinction. I concede that the class of arrests complained of can be constitutional only when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require them; and I insist that in such cases they are constitutional *wherever* the public safety does require them; as well in places to which they may prevent the rebellion extending as in those where it may be already prevailing; as well where they may restrain mischievous interference with the raising and supplying of armies to suppress the rebellion as where the rebellion may actually be; as well where they may restrain the enticing men out of the army as where they would prevent mutiny in the army; equally constitutional at all places where they will conduce to the public safety, as against the dangers of rebellion or invasion. Take the particular case mentioned by the meeting. It is asserted, in substance, that Mr. Vallandigham was, by a military commander, seized and tried, "for no other reason than words addressed to a public meeting, in criticism of the course of the Administration, and in condemnation of the military orders of the General." Now, if there be no mistake about this; if this assertion is the truth and the whole truth; if there was no other reason for the arrest, then I concede that the arrest was wrong. But the arrest, as I understand, was made for a very different reason. Mr. Vallandigham avows his hostility to the war on the part of the Union; and his arrest was made because he was laboring, with some effect, to prevent the raising of troops; to encourage desertions from the army; and to leave the rebellion without an adequate military force to suppress it. He was not arrested because he was damaging the political prospects of the Administration, of the personal interests of the Commanding-General, but because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the nation depends. He was warring upon the military, and this gave the military constitutional jurisdiction to lay hands upon him. If Mr. Vallandigham was not damaging the military power of the country, then his arrest was made on mistake of fact, which I would be glad to correct on reasonably satisfactory evidence.

I understand the meeting, whose resolutions I am considering, to be in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force—by armies. Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. The case requires, and the law and the Constitution sanction, this punishment. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting a father, or a brother, or friend, into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings till he is persuaded to write the soldier boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked Administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that in such a case, to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy.

If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion and invasion, the public safety does require them; in other words, that the Constitution is not, in its application, in all respects the same, in cases of rebellion or invasion involving the public safety, as it is in times of profound peace and public security. The Constitution itself makes the distinction; and I can no more be persuaded that the government can constitutionally take no strong measures in time of rebellion, because it can be shown that the same could not be lawfully taken in time of peace, than I can be persuaded that a particular drug is not good medicine for a sick man, because it can be shown not to be good food for a well one. Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting that the American people will, by means of military arrests during the rebellion, lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and *habeas corpus*, throughout the indefinite peaceful future, which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life.

In giving the resolutions that earnest consideration which you request of me, I cannot overlook the fact that the meeting speak as "Democrats." Nor can I, with full respect for their known intelligence, and the fairly presumed deliberation with which they prepared their resolutions, be permitted to suppose that this occurred by accident, or in any way other than that they preferred to designate themselves "Democrats" rather than "American citizens." In this time of national peril I would have preferred to meet you upon a level one step higher than any party platform; because I am sure that, from such more elevated position, we could do better battle for the country we all love than we possibly can from those lower ones where, from the force of habit, the prejudices of the past, and selfish hopes of the future, we are sure to expend much of our ingenuity and strength in finding fault with, and aiming blows at each other. But, since you have denied me this, I will yet be thankful, for the country's sake, that not all Democrats have done so. He on whose discretionary judgment Mr. Vallandigham was arrested and tried is a Democrat, having no old party affinity with me; and the Judge who rejected the constitutional view expressed in these resolutions, by refusing to discharge Mr. Vallandigham on *habeas corpus*, is a Democrat of better days than these, having received his judicial mantle at the hands of President Jackson. And still more, of all those Democrats who are nobly exposing their lives and shedding their blood on the battle-field, I have learned that many approve the course taken with Mr. Vallandigham, while I have not heard of a single one condemning it. I cannot assert that there are none such. And the name of President Jackson recalls an instance of pertinent history.

After the battle of New Orleans, and while the fact that the treaty of peace had been concluded was well known in the city, but before official knowledge of it had arrived, Gen. Jackson still maintained martial or military law. Now, that it could be said the war was over, the clamor against martial law, which had existed from the first, grew more furious. Among other things a Mr. Louaillier published a denunciatory newspaper article. Gen. Jackson arrested him. A lawyer by the name of Morel procured the United States Judge Hall to order a writ of *habeas corpus* to relieve Mr. Louaillier. Gen. Jackson arrested both the lawyer and the judge. A Mr. Holbander ventured to say of some part of the matter that "it was a dirty trick." Gen. Jackson arrested him. When the officer undertook to serve the writ of *habeas corpus* Gen. Jackson took it from him, and sent him away with a copy. Holding the judge in custody a few days, the General sent him beyond the limits of his encampment, and set him at liberty, with an order to remain till the ratification of peace should be regularly announced, or until the British should have left the southern coast. A day or two more elapsed, the ratification of the treaty of peace was regularly announced, and the judge and others were fully liberated. A few days more, and the judge called Gen. Jackson into court and fined him a thousand dollars for having arrested him and the others named. The General paid the fine, and there the matter rested for nearly thirty years, when Congress refunded principal and interest. The late Senator Douglas, then in the House of Representatives, took a leading part in the debates, in which the constitutional question was much discussed. I am not prepared to say whom the journals would show to have voted for the measure.

It may be remarked: First, that we had the same Constitution then as now; secondly, that we then had a case of invasion, and now we have a case of rebellion; and, thirdly, that the permanent right of the people to public discussion, the liberty of speech and of the press, the trial by jury, the law of evidence, and the *habeas corpus*, suffered no detriment whatever by that conduct of Gen. Jackson, or its subsequent approval by the American Congress.

And yet, let me say, that in my own discretion, I do not know whether I would have ordered the arrest of Mr. Vallandigham. While I cannot shirk the responsibility from myself; I hold that, as a general rule, the commander in the field is the better judge of the necessity in any particular case. Of course, I must practice a general directory and revisory power in the matter.

One of the resolutions expresses the opinion of the meeting that arbitrary arrests will have the effect to divide and distract those who should be united in suppressing the rebellion, and I am specifically called on to discharge Mr. Vallandigham. I regard this as,

British sympathies either with the Federals or with the Confederates. If Lord Brougham has an opinion about the American war, he does wrong to the cause of truth and right, which can only be prompted by free and full discussion, in locking it up within the recesses of his own mind. He is not consistent in so doing, for, if our recollection serves us, he has on more occasions than one expressed very decided views on the topics as to which he now affects a coy reserve. But no one looks for consistency in Lord Brougham.

The terms of his apology for withholding his opinion really disclose it. He will not take the chair at an anti-slavery meeting because, in doing so, he would violate the neutrality which (as one of the great European powers, we suppose) he thinks that he ought to maintain between the belligerents. Can any confession be more conclusive that the war is, in its essence, a war for negro emancipation? A demonstration against slavery, it is virtually admitted, is neither more nor less than a demonstration against the Confederates. To show sympathy with the slave is to sympathize with the North.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1863.

FOURTH OF JULY!

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION.

THE regular annual Mass Meeting of the Friends of Freedom will be held under the auspices of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at the grove in Framingham, SATURDAY, July 4th, 1863.

This annual gathering of the tried and unfaltering friends of universal emancipation—and, consequently, the truest and most reliable friends of our common country in every hour of peril and suffering—has never failed to bring a host together from all parts of the Commonwealth; and in such a crisis as the present, while the struggle between the forces of freedom and those of slavery continues to alternate and linger with such uncertainty, it surely cannot be necessary to make an urgent appeal to secure the largest attendance at the Framingham Grove on the approaching anniversary. It will be a celebration worthy of the event it commemorates, and worthy of this eventful and momentous period, in the highest degree. The place of meeting is a consecrated one, and hallowed by heart-stirring memories of the past.

Among the expected speakers are WM. L. GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, Rev. Mr. RICHARDSON, of Worcester, WM. WELLS BROWN, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, A. T. FOSS, E. H. HEYWOOD, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, F. B. SANBORN, Esq., and others.

Trains will be run on the Boston and Worcester Railroad, and Branches, as follows: Leave Boston at 9.15, and Worcester at 9.40 a.m., stopping at Way Stations; Millbury, regular train; Milford, at 7.10 and 9.45; Northboro' at 7; Marlboro' at 7.15.

Fare to the Grove and back: From Boston, Worcester and Millbury, 80 cents for adults, 40 cents for children; from Grafton, adults, 70 cents, children 35 cents; from Milford, Milford Branch (except Holliston), Northboro, Marlboro, Wellesley, Grantville, Cordaville, South boro and Westboro, 60 cents for adults, 30 cents for children; from Natick, Holliston and Ashland, adults, 45 cents, children, 25 cents.

Returning, leave the Grove for Boston, Milford and Worcester, at 6 p.m. For Way Stations above Framingham (except Westboro), 4.45. For Northboro Branch, at 5 30 p.m.

Admission fee to the enclosure of the Grove, for those *not* coming by the cars, adults, 15 cents, children, 10 cents. Those who come by railroad admitted free.

No Fireworks allowed in the enclosure of the Grove.

The House at the Grove will be open for Refreshments.

☞ In case of rain, the meeting will be held in Waverly Hall, opposite the Railroad Depot at South Framingham.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE NORTHERN REBELS.

THE war we are engaged in has furnished more anomalies in the way of strategics—if it be proper to describe by that term the whole method of conducting war—than any other on record. Its pervading principle has seemed to be the doing as little harm to the enemy, and suffering the accomplices of the enemy to do as much harm to us, as possible. For a long time we left the Departments at Washington full of scarcely concealed traitors—spies paid with our money—and they are by no means entirely freed from them yet. Generals were appointed chiefly for the reason that they belonged to the party which had always been in the closest alliance with the Southern rebels. The well-wishers to the rebellion have been permitted twice to dictate to the President the appointment of a General whose incompetency was patent and whose treachery is as nearly demonstrable as is compatible with merely moral and circumstantial evidence, and they are by no means without hope of again reinstating him in command. During two years scarcely a spy has been executed and not a single traitor—unless Mumford, of whom Gen. Butler made so wholesome an example at New Orleans, may be dignified with such a title. The negroes, our natural allies, were repulsed by every discouragement from rendering us the services they longed to give, until the teachings of disaster compelled a late and reluctant employment of them. Open-mouthed traitors, confessed partisans of the rebels, have been permitted to speak and print what they thought would best damage the government and help the enemy. And when a military officer sees that a severe example is necessary, and arrests, tries and sentences one of the most blatant of those miscreants, the President of the United States addresses a civil letter to a party of his confederates, who had had the impudence to demand his pardon, explaining and justifying the act, not without an apologetic air towards the close, instead of arresting and punishing them as disturbers of the peace, or rather of the war, whose language and conduct had promoted actual armed and murderous resistance to the laws in Ohio and Illinois. We will not add the permission of these last-named outrages to pass unpunished to our list of eccentric tactics, as we cannot believe that stringent measures will not soon be heard of as taken for their chastisement and prevention in future.

We copy elsewhere the letter of the President to the Albany Copperheads. Whatever may be thought of the expediency and propriety of the Head of the Nation descending to expostulation and argument with impudent enemies, we think there can be no two opinions, among honest men, as to the force and conclusiveness with which he establishes his points. It will not satisfy his correspondents, and will expose him to the indignity of an insolent rejoinder; but it will have the effect of clearing away cobwebs perhaps from some well-meaning minds. And we would not be understood as censuring the course of the President in this matter. He was the final judge of the way in which such malignants should be treated by him, and we do not affirm that he could have dealt with them more wisely. Only, we will assert that it is the first instance of men standing in a rebellious attitude towards a government, in time of war, being so entreated, even though their hostility to authority had gone no farther than spoken or printed words. Pitt arrested and tried Hardy, Thelwall and Horne Tooke for treason in 1794, and Lord Liverpool rode down the Manchester Meeting with cavalry in 1819, on less provocation than these men had given. But this, and all the other anomalies we have mentioned, have grown out of the anomalous state of things in this country, preceding the war. At the North, we had been so long accustomed to speak out our minds on all subjects, and to act them out, too, that it seemed strange that any state of affairs could occur which should interrupt that largest liberty. It took the nation some time to understand that there was anything that anybody wanted to do, that anybody had a right to object to. This made it so sluggish to hinder the villanies which ushered in the rebellion, and so slow to believe that it was really a disease touching its life, requiring the most heroic treatment. While we cannot but feel mortification and an emotion allied to contempt in view of the slacknesses towards the enemy and the cruelties towards our best friends, the blacks, which marked the beginnings of the war, and which are not wholly obsolete yet, we are compelled to admit that they are not inexplicable, and, in a great degree, they may have been unavoidable, in view of the very degradation and depravation of Northern morality debauched by its long subserviency to slavery.

The education of the nation has advanced rapidly, under the teaching of events. The progress of the President has marked that of the people, only rather lagging behind it than leading it. He and they have gradually learned that we are really at war and not engaged in a Presidential campaign. From guarding the property of rebels, we have proceeded to confiscate it. From threatening to put down negro insurrection "with an iron hand" and returning fugitive loyalists to rebel masters, we have advanced to putting arms into their hands, regimenting and brigading them, and setting them "to cut their masters' throats" in a regular and authentic manner. From permitting spies to go and come at their pleasure, virtually, Gen. Rosecrans has actually hanged two, of as good a military and social standing as Major André himself. Having made this progress as to open enemies, with arms in their hands, we may hope that we shall come up to the work, in time, of taking the meaner, more dastardly, but none the less real and dangerous enemies among ourselves in hand and dealing with them as governments must deal with secret traitors if they would remain governments. After the President has expended what energy he judges best in bandying words with our Northern rebels, perhaps he will go on to trying conclusions with them with turf, and, that failing, he may be led to see what virtue there may be in stones. One probability which the President suggests he may be very sure will become a certainty. It is not only not unlikely, but it is absolutely certain, that the time will come when he will be blamed for having made too few arrests, rather than too many. Especially, if serious mischiefs should come of such ill-timed and misplaced lenity. The doctrine that the Constitution is to be construed so as to work the destruction of the Nation is too gross and atrocious to meet with acceptance from so eminently a sensible people as the Americans. And so of any permanent danger to free speech and a free press from the restraints on their licentiousness. No intelligent lover of civil liberty sympathizes with any such affected terrors. And we are ready to stand our own chance, and so are our friends. Should the government think this paper dangerous to its existence and that of the nation, we hold it to be its duty to suppress it, and we will justify it in its action, though we may not agree with it as to the necessity. If Mr. Garrison write, or Mr. Phillips say, anything the President holds worthy of bonds, he is the judge of the exigency, and no Abolitionist will censure him for acting as his judgment dictates. Provided, he is impartial in his justice, and suppresses Rebellion in the North, in every shape, with at least as much rigor as he shall do rebellion in the South.

We cannot but hope that the present demonstrations of the rebels toward an invasion of the North may have a wholesome effect on the governmental and the general mind. It is bringing the war home to men's business and bosoms as it has never yet been done. In the actual presence of the enemy, we imagine little patience and indulgence will be shown to men who are doing all they can to strengthen him and weaken ourselves. Should he actually make a serious impression on the territory of Pennsylvania or Ohio, we think that the strongest measures will not merely be justified, but demanded, by the popular voice. We may have to thank the enemy for this stage of our progress as for all that have gone before. The people know that there is no danger to civil liberty, to Free Speech and a Free Press from anything that President Lincoln can do for the suppression of this rebellion, North and South. The danger to these privileges, or rather rights, lies in the success of the Woods, Seymours, Vallandighams, and their like, in their designs. Their resolutions and avowed plans look to such a reconstruction of the Union, with the help of the Southern rebels, as shall make civil liberty, Free Speech and Free Press as impossible everywhere as they have always been in Alabama or South Carolina. Their scheme is such a universal submission to slavery as shall reduce us all to the dead level of despotism which has ever marked the Slave-region. A dead level fatal to freedom of thought, of speech, of printing. We thank God that we believe the very delays and blunders of this war have made such submission now impossible, however possible it seemed just before the war broke out. But it is as much the duty of the President to protect us from attacks from the rear as from the front, from the stab of the assassin as from the open attack of the avowed enemy. And we believe that he will find it impossible to do the one duty while he leaves the other undone.

PROJECTS OF COLONIZATION.

OF all the absurd and foolish projects that were ever born of human blindness and prejudice, that which proposes to send out of this country hundreds of thousands of stalwart men and women, whose labor is greatly needed in almost every department of industry, is certainly the most preposterous. That at the very time when waving harvests are crying out for reapers, and manual labor of every kind is at a premium, the President of the United States should be mousing round the world for territory upon which to colonize large bodies of sinewy Americans, able and willing to work, is certainly a reproach to the boasted civilization and Christianity of the age. That all such schemes must eventually fail it needs no prophet to fortell. One of them has failed already, if we may believe the following statements, copied from the Havana correspondent of *The Journal of Commerce*.

"The contraband colony established by President Lincoln, on a low island south side of St. Domingo, we have just heard from, through the Governor. The colonists sent down from Norfolk to this death-hole, recently, are about one-half abolished, and the rest are in the same line of retreat, from the cares of this world. The bodies are taken to the swamp, and disposed of without much ceremony by survivors. The Governor who was sent down to be their guide, light and ruler, has fled from the pestilential bogs and quagmires, and is now here, seeking funds through the U. S. consulate and other sources to pay his expenses here and passage to the United States. Are we to have any more of these destructive expressions of Christian abolition benevolence? The stories told here by the Governor are truly fearful—and he has shown the virtue of discretion. Comments are not needful."

The pretence that such schemes are "expressions of Christian *abolition* benevolence" is a stretch of audacity worthy of *The Journal of Commerce*, which has always been the champion of African colonization.

But another correspondent of the same paper, writing from San Salvador, May 26, informs us that the President has on hand another scheme for the deportation of American laborers. The writer says:

"The last steamer from Panama brought to our shores Mr. E. G. Squier, formerly minister of the United States to Central America, whose publications regarding this beautiful country are so well known and properly appreciated throughout the civilized world. Mr. Squier, as you well know, was recently appointed a commissioner on the part of the United States government to settle the claims against Peru. He has also a little side mission to this country, which is of some importance at present, and known by few outside of the society of the State Department at Washington. Knowing ones say he brings a proposition from Mr. Lincoln's government for the purchase of the Bay Islands, in order to make them a place for colonizing the free negroes and contrabands of the United States, the same to be under the protection of the U. S. flag. Mr. Squier, while in this city, had several long and interesting interviews with President Barrios on the subject, the result of which is, that Barrios is understood to favor the project. Yesterday Mr. Squier left for the capital of Honduras, accompanied by Don Leon Alvarado, one of the most prominent and influential citizens of that republic, for the purpose of laying before that government Mr. Lincoln's proposition to purchase those noted islands. Barrios being actually the ally and protector of the Honduran government it was necessary to consult him in advance regarding the matter. I understand that Mr. Squier is so sanguine of a satisfactory result that he brought with him a gentleman from New York, who is to be dispatched with the *fruits* of his mission overland to the Atlantic coast, so that he may reach Washington at the earliest moment possible."

The spirit of colonization is born of slavery. Make the slaveholders willing to abolish slavery, and they will be the first to protest against sending the blacks out of the country. The idea that emancipation would be made more palatable to them by a provision for colonizing their bondmen is simply absurd. While slavery lasts, they will of course desire the removal of the *free* blacks; but make the slaves all free, and the chief motive for colonization would be thereby destroyed.

PAMPHLETS.

WE have on our table several interesting pamphlets, which we proceed to notice:

1. The First Annual Report of the Educational Commission for Freedmen, presented at the annual meeting in Boston, May 27, 1863. The Secretary gives us, first, a brief history of the Society from its origin; then we have reports of its labors in different departments, from—1. The Committee on Teachers; 2. The Committee on Clothing and Supplies; 3. Committee on Correspondence; 4. Committee on Finance—all of the most satisfactory character.

2. The letters of Charles Nordhoff to *The Evening Post*, and lately reprinted in THE STANDARD, giving some account of the Freedmen of South Carolina, their appearance, character, condition, and peculiar customs. This is No. 1 of a series of "Papers of the Day," collected and arranged by FRANK MOORE, Editor of The Rebellion Record; published by Charles T. Evans, 448 Broadway.

3. Address before the American Peace Society, at its anniversary in Boston, May 25, by Hon. AMASA WALKER; and under the same cover the Annual Report of the Society. Mr. Walker abates no jot of heart or hope for the cause of peace in view of the present bloody struggle with slavery and treason. He thinks the war policy as between nations has at last culminated, and that all mankind will soon realize it. Like the wager of battle for the settlement of private quarrels, it must, he thinks, give way before the advancing light and science of the age. He closes his address with these words: "I have no faith in war. I had none at the commencement of our own contest, and if it were possible, I have less now. I expect nothing good from this or any war, that might not be obtained in a better way. My confidence in the principle on which our movement is founded, and the feasibility of it, are entirely unshaken. The consummation may be farther off than it seemed ten years ago, but not the less certain."

4. The Red Flag in John Bull's Eyes, by FRANCES POWER COBBE; being tract No. 1 of the Ladies' London Emancipation Society. The character and object of this tract are set forth in another column.

5. Eleventh Annual Report of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York. In much of the work of this association good people of every class must rejoice, while many will regret that its operations are narrowed and its usefulness impaired by the fact that it requires its members to subscribe to a creed.

6. Nursing the Sick, and the Training of Nurses; an Address, delivered at the request of the Board of Managers at the Woman's Hospital, at Philadelphia, by ANN PRESTON, M.D. A very important subject, admirably treated.

7. The Nation's Trial: The Proclamation: Dormant Powers of the Government: The Constitution a Charter of Freedom, and not "A Covenant with Hell;" by EDWARD F. BULLARD, author of the Law of Trusts and Trustees. Death to Slavery—Life to the Republic. The substance of this treatise was delivered as a lecture, first before the Young Men's Association of Waterford, N. Y., and afterwards repeated at other places. Its object and spirit are admirable, and although we dissent from some of the author's views, we wish it might have an extensive circulation.

8. The Future of the Freed People, by Rev. JAMES A. THOME. Published by the American Reform Tract and Book Society, Cincinnati. Mr. Thome surveys the future of the freed people from three several standpoints, viz: 1. Prophecy; 2. Character of God; 3. Our own obligations and ability to help them. Upon each of these aspects of the subject he speaks in a thoroughly Christian spirit, rebuking as it deserves the hateful spirit of caste which defiles the American Church and brutalizes the American people. He closes the discussion with the following appeal:

"Brethren and fellow-countrymen! Providence has committed to us a great work. It is no less than to fulfil a glorious prophecy! It is to lift up the prostrate sons of Ethiopia; to arouse their dormant powers, to put sight into their seared eyes, to clothe their bare being with the habiliments of a well-furnished manhood. It is to evoke the capabilities of a mysterious race; to encourage those, whom centuries of wrong have depressed, to start in the forward race; it is to make a people out of cattle, a power out of nothing; to demonstrate their humanity, and our own. No age has furnished such a task; no people have enjoyed such a chance to vindicate humanity. Coming ages look down upon us. Ancient seers charge us to verify their predictions. Ethiopia waits on our ministrations. War has battered down the brazen gates of oppression, and laid open the field. Presidental proclamations have cleaved the waters before us. God utters his voice, summons his volunteers, calls for coworkers. ALMIGHTY PROVIDENCE CARES FOR THE NEGRO. Who of us will be godlike?

"We have a present, urgent task, a humble one, a hard one—to minister to the necessities of the freedmen. But to do this wisely and well, we must have *just final aims*. Adequate conceptions of the ultimate future of the freed people must give us inspiration and direction in the self-denying labors which their intermediate future is about to devolve upon us. They cry now for help in their sore need, for supplies in their sheer destitution, for light in their deep darkness. They have nothing save freedom! They *are* nothing but men. Body and soul—nothing else! It doth not yet *appear* what they shall be. We have, however, the sure word of prophecy illuminating their future. Let us take that light as we go down to their low estate. Let us bear in mind what manner of persons they are destined to become, that we may properly esteem, and worthily serve them in this time of their humiliation. In the opening field among the freed people lies the main mission of American Christians hereafter; and in the faithful performance of this mission lies the safety and weal of our nation, from this time forward. We cannot get rid of these duties by getting rid of the negroes. If this were practicable, it would be criminal, shameful, ruinous. If it were industrially expedient to alienate this trained labor-force, it would be forbidden by every consideration of piety and humanity. The freed people are bound to us, and we to them, by hooks of steel. The question is not, Do we need their help? but, Do they not need our help? We have hitherto held them to service, and would not *let them go*; now they hold us to service, and *God will not let us off*. Think of their unpaid toil for the American people, during scores of years! Their extorted labor has supplied us with cotton, hemp, sugar, rice, turpentine, tobacco, for consumption and commerce. They have earned wealth for the whites, while they have been penniless; "as poor, yet making many rich." They have kept no book account with us; but "their angels" have. Long scores are down against us. Payday is coming! We must wipe out these scores. We must make this poor people rich, as they have made us; not by becoming, in turn, their bondmen, but their benefactors. Their claims are Heaven's calls. The voice of this people is the voice of God to us. We shall not be destroyed by the rebellion, for we have a debt to pay, a duty to perform, to help the freedman achieve his destiny; to prepare him to glorify God. Because Ethiopia lives, we shall live also. Because her children among us have a future, we shall have a future. In exalting them, we shall magnify ourselves. In securing their liberties, we shall fortify our own. Thus doing, we may hope that when their star mounts, our star will not sink. Thus acquitting ourselves, we may trust that when Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God, we shall stretch out our hands also, in emulous offerings, and concordant praise."

This tract, in book form, is sold at 5 cents single, $4 per 100; in tract form, $2 per 100.

9. Prejudice against Colored People, by Rev. B. P. Aydelott. Published by the American Reform Tract and Book Society, Cincinnati. Colorphobia is here treated as a violation of the law of human brotherhood as taught by Christ and revealed in the nature of man. Sold in book form, 3 cents single, $2.50 per 100; in tract form 80 cents per 100.

THE REBEL AGENT REPUDIATED.—The Richmond *Enquirer*, the recognized organ of the Jeff. Davis government, in its issues of the 19th and 20th inst.—says the Washington correspondent of *The Tribune*—devotes its leading articles to Mr. Spence, the Liverpool agent of the Confederate States, whom it berates soundly for his intimation that under some circumstances the South might be willing to adopt a plan of gradual emancipation. *The Enquirer* denounces and spits upon all such methods of recommending the South to the favor of Foreign Powers, and abuses without stint Mr. Spence, and all other preachers of such doctrines. It calls vehemently for the removal of Spence, and wants to know why Mr. Mason has not dismissed him at once without waiting for orders from home.

LETTER FROM THE HOLY LAND.

THE following extract of a letter to a friend in this country from Rev. FREDERICK FROTHINGHAM, recently of Portland, Maine (now travelling in Egypt, Syria, etc.), we are quite sure will interest many readers:

"Here at Beyrout one comes in contact again with intelligence from friends and with the civilized world. Shut up these eastern countries are. In them one is almost cut off from home as on the ocean. But even these shut-up lands feel and acknowledge the shakings of that great struggle which makes our beloved land quake to its very centre. I had not conceived that the United States stood in such close connection with all the ends of the earth. How heavily the conflict drags on! But why talk so? Do we not all feel that a great disease had fixed itself in the nation's vitals, and that no such can be cured without a sore struggle? On January 1st, I hardly knew whether I could dare to rejoice; for whether the great deed was done which, more than any other, President Lincoln will thank God for having been permitted to do, I could not know, nor how it would be received by a but half-willing people. I cannot but regret still that it was not done at the beginning and made from the outset the lode-stone of the national cause. But a truce to regrets. God's ways are not man's ways. His providence is over all still. More has been done than I expected in 20 years to see—though the sword was drawn before it came. There is indeed much to be done by the friends of Right and Liberty—there will always be. Well for them when they see clearly what there is to do and the way and place wherein to do it. Your letter conveyed some very pleasant items. The success of your annual subscription anniversary is cheering, quite as much as a sign as a result. I am glad THE STANDARD is still to live. A good authority calls it "the best paper in the United States." How I should like to feast my eyes on its this week's pages. It is months since I saw a number of it—only once since I left Ireland. There is no great encouragement to sending papers abroad, for excepting in England there is no security of their reaching their destination. Even in Paris they did not reach me at all, while I did receive some in Egypt. You will do me a kindness by dropping me a STANDARD and a *Liberator* occasionally, however, as I may be able to meet them in England."

A QUESTION OF CONSCIENCE.

WORCESTER, MASS., May 25th, 1863.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

OUGHT one who is an Abolitionist *from principle*, under *present circumstances*, to take an oath of allegiance to the Federal government, or swear to support and defend the present Constitution of the United States?

Many soldiers in the Federal army are Abolitionists. Some Abolitionists may hold office under the present Administration. Of course they must swear to uphold the present Constitution. The Constitution *tolerates* slavery, it does not *authorize* it. Now, with all slaveholders in arms against the Federal government, and fighting for slavery—our government fighting, not only for national life, but also, although it may be *indirectly*, and as may seem to some of us, *unwillingly*, but yet nevertheless, *really* for liberty—with the Emancipation proclamation in force, and three-fourths of all the slaves freed, never to be reënslaved (for I cannot believe that our government will falsify itself)—with the prospect, even now almost a certainty, that when this country has peace, it will have no slavery, may not even an Abolitionist swear to support the government and the Constitution of the United States? Until the attack on Fort Sumter I consider that Abolitionists were justified in refusing to support the Constitution; but now has not this condition of things so much changed that they would be justified in doing what would have been totally wrong in former times?

Relying much upon your wisdom, and honoring you for your life-long devotion to the glorious cause of human freedom, I have made bold to ask you the above question, and beg an early reply through the columns of THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD of which I am a CONSTANT READER.

Editor's Reply.

The rebellion having relieved the National government of every Constitutional obligation to tolerate slavery, and put it in its power to abolish the system root and branch, we cannot see why an Abolitionist, who has no other scruple in regard to the Constitution, may not conscientiously engage to support it. If, however, the Union shall ever be restored upon the old conditions, and without the abolition of slavery, our objections to the Constitution will be revived. Such, in a few words, is our position; let others judge for themselves.

A WORD FROM A FRIEND IN IRELAND.

EXTRACT of a letter from a gentleman of Dublin, Ireland, to a friend in America, dated

DUBLIN, May 30, 1863.

"No European power could have borne such a strain as that which the North has been put to by this tremendous struggle, or borne with such cheerfulness and elasticity so many severe disappointments. My confidence in the value of popular institutions has been vastly strengthened by what I have learned of the endurance, humanity, and the confidence in their elected rulers, of the great majority of the Northern people since the war began. There is a vast deal in the language of our writers for the press, and in the common talk of our people, which mortifies, grieves, and disappoints me, and yet I think much of it can be accounted for by their ignorance, and the evil sources from which they derive much of their information. [Undoubtedly—but what a plea, to excuse such parties!] Still, I am continually astounded by the extent and virulence of this moral cancer (for such it seems to me) which prevails on all sides in these islands. That you may be speedily and entirely successful is my ardent wish—at least, as speedily as would be consistent with the utter overthrow of the greatest stumbling-block to your national glory, prosperity, and tranquillity. I do not in the least wonder at the bitterness that exists amongst you against England, for you have been greatly disappointed in her; but in Ireland I think the anti-Northern feeling is just as widely expressed and is in my mind more shameful, for the North is the great asylum of the poor Irish. I don't include in my censure the poorer classes, who have little information or political opinion of their own, but only the reading and writing portion of our countrymen. I do not like to see in the American papers (though I do not wonder at it) the covert threats that when you have an opportunity you will turn your attention to England in a martial way. War is a clumsy expedient, and it is one which must injure both sides, and should not be resorted to unless under the compulsion of something more imperative than mere vindictiveness. [Certainly; but suppose England refuses to pay for the wanton destruction of American commerce on the high seas by privateers built and fitted out in her own ports with the full knowledge of her government?] The portion of the English nation wich has suffered most from your present war are your best friends, the operative classes of Lancashire. They were the great consumers of Irish agricultural produce, and their inability to buy, combined with three bad harvests, has caused such a prostration of business here of all kinds, as I do not remember at any former time. * * * A prodigious emigration goes on from Ireland, chiefly to your shores. It is said to be nearly five thousand (5000) a week. I wish the emigrants were likely to add as much to your moral strength as to your material ability."

CARRYING OFF NEGROES.—It is said that the rebels have captured and carried away a considerable number of negroes from Southern Pennsylvania. The correspondent of *The Herald* says:

"The negroes fled to the woods, went off with the horses, secreted themselves in out of the way places, and made good their escape in every way they could. Many of the farmers allowed the negroes the use of their horses to skedaddle with. This course of action served a two-fold purpose. They knew the negroes would take care of the horses, in order the better to take care of themselves. Many of the people sincerely felt for the position in which both free and fugitive negroes were placed. While they did not as a generality, care particularly for the negro as a negro, they did not want to see them dragged off to punishment in slavery. Besides, many of the blacks were free ones. Not a few of the colored ones did not have either the time or tact to make their escape, and as a consequence of remaining were subsequently made to suffer in, perhaps, the most unpleasant of all forms.

"To the citizens of Chambersburg this was, perhaps, one of the most painful of all the scenes they witnessed. The rebels took old people and even very young children. Some were driven along the road like sheep. Others were handcuffed or tied and marched along in that way. Others again were taken off mounted behind their "master" riders. They got a large number in all. Free negroes as well as fugitive ones were carried off. They treated them with hardly any degree of kindness whatever."

SOJOURNER TRUTH.

OLIVER JOHNSON—*Dear Friend:* Again I would ask permission, through your paper, to return thanks to friends whose hearts have been moved to give aid and comfort to our "venerable friend and teacher," Sojourner Truth. She desires me to say that "she cannot rest until *all* know how truly grateful she is for their kind assistance." She says "her heart is full of praises and prayer, and sometimes she thinks her cup of happiness is about to run over, and she prays de Lord to pour it on to some of her friends." Would that some people had the power and goodness of heart to extract happiness from material surroundings in proportion to their possessions, as *Sojourner has*. A much better world would this be.

When the kind and excellent letter reached her from Samuel May and wife, of Leicester, Mass., accompanied with donations from *Ireland*—she was greatly surprised, and expressions of deep gratitude came in rapid succession. Finally she concluded that no mortal on earth was ever so blessed before, and she was quite sure de Lord never sent his angels from so great a distance, even in 'Lijah's day. She wondered who ever heard of Sojourner way in Ireland, and when she thought that they were friends whom she had never seen, she was quite overcome with joy, and thought de greatness of de Lord was greater than she could understand.

She wishes you to print the name of her grandson, James Culvin of the 54th, thinking that some one may go and see him.

She wishes her friends to know that her health is better than it was some time since. She says she has "budded out wid de trees, but that she may fall wid de autumn leaves." PHEBE H. M. STICKNEY.

Names of Donors.

Mrs. Edmundson,	Dublin, Ireland.
Mrs. Anne Allen,	" "
Richard D. Webb,	" "
Sarah R. May, Leicester, Mass.	
Samuel May, Jr.,	" "
Mrs. Goss,	New York.
W. H. Burleigh,	" "
George W. Bungay,	" "
Oliver Johnson,	" "
Theodore Tilton,	" "
"Freedman's Relief Society," Worcester, Mass.	
Miss Ladd,	
Mrs. Miller,	
Mr. and Mrs. Twam,	
Dr. Church and wife,	
Mrs. John Hull,	
Mrs. Maria Brown and Stillman,	
Miss Laura Stebbins,	
Mrs. Charles Hastings,	
Mrs. Griffing,	
Mrs. Samson and Mrs. Eliot,	
Mrs. John Hamilton.	

PERSONAL.

News has been received of the safe arrival of Henry Ward Beecher in England, after a very pleasant voyage.

Gifford, the artist, has laid aside his palette, and shouldering his musket, has gone with the Seventh regiment, of which he is a member, to Baltimore.

Miss Nightingale has returned to London, after a short stay at Hampstead, without having derived any great benefit from her sojourn in that salubrious neighborhood.

Frances D. Gage made an eloquent address to the Women's National Loyal League, at their room, 20 Cooper Institute, on Friday afternoon, 19th inst. She also spoke in the Bethesda Baptist Church, Jersey City, on Sunday evening. On Monday she left this city for a brief visit to New England, going first to Providence.

According to the Richmond correspondent of the London *Times*, the stories of the ill-health of Jeff. Davis are true. "His excellency" the head rebel is suffering under a severe bronchial affection, his cough is "exhaustive and distressing," and although it is his practice to ride twenty miles on horseback daily, his condition is such as to inspire "considerable uneasiness."

The Buffalo *Express* gives an account of one of the members of the Massachusetts 55th, from the West, whose ability and history are alike remarkable. He is a native of one of the interior provinces of Ethiopia. He managed to make his way from the centre of Africa to the coast without losing his liberty, and shipping on a vessel, went to Europe, where he resided some years, and then came to this country. He speaks five European languages fluently, and possesses far more than ordinary ability.

George P. Kane, who was Marshal of Police in Baltimore when Massachusetts soldiers were murdered in the streets of that city, and who was subsequently imprisoned at Fort Lafayette, then indicted for treason and admitted to bail by Judge Taney, has escaped to Dixie and has been appointed a Major-General in the rebel army. A few weeks since his name stood prominent among those whom the Northern Copperheads honor as martyrs to the "Lincoln despotism."

Joseph Barker, the Englishman who figured largely in this country a few years ago, sometimes as an Abolitionist, but oftener as a champion of the Boston *Investigator* school of "Infidelity," and who, after losing the confidence of nearly everybody who knew him here went back to England, has turned up at last as an agent and champion of the Slaveholders' Rebellion! See an account of one of his exploits in a letter from Manchester, copied on the fourth page from *The Evening Post*.

Vallandigham, if we may believe the rebel papers, has gone to Nassau, whence he is expected to make his escape to Canada or New York. The Chattanooga *Rebel*, at the close of a fervent and sympathizing address to the Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio, with whom its editor had just enjoyed a friendly conference, says:

"God speed you, Vallandigham, on your mission of peace, and may your eyes be opened, should your power be equal to your vision, to this grand fact, that *we can never have peace without Disunion*."

The Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle* sympathetically says: "We are glad Vallandigham has gone"; and adds: "We ask for him the prayers of the congregation."

THE BRAVERY OF THE NEGROES AT PORT HUDSON.

SHELBURNE FALLS, MASS., June 18th, 1863.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I SEND you an extract from a letter written by Major Hinn of the 52d Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers. It is such a just and feeling recognition of the bravery of the maligned negro, that I wish it could be burned into our hearts with words of fire, so that no tongue would henceforth dare to utter or repeat the old slander that "black men won't fight for freedom."

Let the vaunted Anglo-Saxon stand back abashed before this sublime exhibition.

"One question has been settled forever by our battles here. Black men can fight. The praise of Col. Nelson's negro regiment is on all lips. They were ordered to charge the enemy's works. They did it magnificently. But before they reached the forts they met a ditch thirty feet wide and ten feet deep, full of water. It was absolutely impassible. Their officers (white) reported it so, yet they were ordered forward again. They could only do and die. Yet on, right on they went to the hopeless charge, into the storm of grape and musket balls—on, with no chance of doing anything but to die like brave men—on, where their white officers dared not lead—till nearly half their numbers were dead or dying. Five times more they charged up to this bayou, when they were withdrawn. Next day they were anxious again for battle. I hope for the honor of human nature there was some mistake about their being ordered forward in such a manner, but the account seems authentic. At least it is current, and has good men to answer for it.

"And as I met these torn and bleeding veterans on their way to the hospital, and felt the full magnitude of the question they had solved, I confess I became as a little child. I could not speak, but with many tears blessed God that they had shown themselves worthy to be free."

Print this on your pages, dear friend of man; let it go to the uttermost parts of the earth, and may it reach heaven and cancel some of the iniquities that we have practiced against the negro, and that stand recorded there against us.

God bless all your faithful words and works, and they are many.

Yours, in bonds of love and truth and justice,

K. B. YALE.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, June 21, 1863.

SPECULATIONS having reference to the capture of Richmond are at an end for the present, and our military authorities are calculating the chances of a great battle within sight of the Capitol's dome, or at least within hearing of the Presidential mansion.

Gen. Lee is bent on giving Gen. Hooker trouble. He is mischievous in his intentions, and I shall not be surprised at any of his movements. The prospect seems this morning to be that he will endeavor to bring on a battle not many miles from this city, that he may make immediate use of his success—should he win a success. Still, anything is possibility. The entire offensive movement may be a masterly feint to cover up the movement of troops to the South-west, but this is no longer probable. Lee may yet cross over into Maryland above Harper's Ferry, or below it at Point of Rocks, with his whole army, but it is scarcely possible. In his present position he can easily detach 20,000 men for a huge raid into Pennsylvania, they taking the route down the Shenandoah valley. But I will not attempt to speculate or to deal with well established military facts in this letter. I wish to touch upon a different subject.

The President has, within a fortnight, seen fit to express himself somewhat freely upon the slavery question. His interview and conversation with the St. Louis delegation upon the subject of emancipation in Missouri are of the utmost importance, and I have reason to believe that Mr. Lincoln *intended* that the people of the country should understand his position from his remarks on that occasion. That position I understand to be as follows: The President adheres firmly to his Emancipation proclamation. In the rebel States he will insist upon emancipation, whenever he has the military power to do it. But in the border slave States, which are acknowledged to be loyal, an entirely different policy will prevail. There he falls back upon his old-fashioned notions, gathered twenty years ago, upon the subject of slavery. Mr. Lincoln is not an immediate emancipationist, for Henry Clay was not. *He believes in gradual emancipation.* This is his old doctrine. He also believes in a Fugitive Slave law, and in its rigid execution wherever the master is loyal. As Mr. Lincoln's conduct is perfectly consistent with his views, he cannot be severely judged. If he is wrong in his course, it is because his entire education was wrong upon this subject. He is, however, making one prodigious blunder. It is this: While he pleads that it is his duty to execute the slave-catching enactment in Maryland and in this District, for instance, he does violate other laws upon the statute-book without a moment's hesitation. The military authorities of this city trample upon any law they please. Everybody knows it. This is also true in the State of Maryland. Now, is Mr. Lincoln willing to be written down in history as more willing to execute a wicked law than a good one? For, if he violates law with impunity—all but the fiendish slave-catching law—whenever he fancies that the general interests of the country require that the law shall be violated, then it will be adjudged against him that he was a coward, like so many of his predecessors, in the presence of the slaveholding interest, and that he caught many runaway men and returned them to slavery when there was no necessity for it according to his own showing.

I am yet hoping and expecting that Gen. Martindale will settle this question of returning fugitive slaves in this District, as he has some other difficult questions—with his sword. He tramples many of our local laws under foot—and very properly. Let him settle the negro-catching business in that way! Mr. Lincoln has but to intimate to him his desire, and the thing is done. He has but to say, "I want negro soldiers, and I cannot return black men to a hateful bondage from which they have escaped. The military necessities of the country prevent it. Further: we are trying to prevent foreign intervention. So long as the people of England and France believe this to be a war for freedom the governments of those countries will not interfere. But if I become a good negro-catcher for the slaveholders of the border, the people of Europe will forsake our cause in disgust—hence I will not permit black men to be dragged from freedom and this District into slavery!"

It should not be forgotten, in making up a verdict upon the course of the President in this matter, that by education he is a conservative man, and that he has always been averse to the doctrines of the Abolitionists, and indeed of the more radical Republicans.

There is another fact which I must touch upon. One year hence the Presidential campaign will open. It is almost certain that the radical and the conservative Republicans will each have their candidate in the Convention. Such being the case, Mr. Lincoln would make a strong compromise cand

OBITUARY.

DIED, at Easton, Washington Co., N. Y., May 30th, of consumption, LYDIA G. PECKHAM, daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Peckham, aged sixteen years.

The deceased was one of those rare and beautiful human flowers that are transplanted to the garden of the spiritual life at an early period of their existence. She was remarkable for sweetness of spirit, and excellent qualities of mind. She was dearly beloved, not alone by her fond parents, sisters and brothers, but by many friends and acquaintances, a large concourse of whom assembled at her funeral to commingle their sympathies, and to offer their tribute of affectionate remembrance.

She was one of whom, in the words of Whittier, it may be said :

" The blessing of her quiet life
Fell on us like the dew;
And good thoughts, where her footsteps pressed,
Like fairy blossoms grew.

Sweet promptings unto kindest deeds
Were in her very look;
We read her face, as one who reads
A true and holy book."

Believing that though " gone " she is not " lost," that though changed, her relation to us is still one of conscious nearness, and sweet sympathy, uniting with her beloved home circle, again, we may say :

" Fold her, oh Father! in thine arms,
And let her henceforth be
A messenger of love between
Our human hearts and Thee.

Still let her mild rebuking stand
Between us and the wrong,
And her dear memory serve to make
Our faith in goodness strong."

A. M. P.

Died, at his residence in New Lyme, Ashtabula Co., Ohio, May 8, from organic disease of the heart, RUMSEY REEVE, in the 74th year of his age.

He was born and raised in the town of Lyme, New London, Co., Conn., and moved from there to Ohio in the Fall of 1821, and settled where he has died. The land he settled on was all a wilderness then, and he undertook the task of clearing it up, and making a home for himself and family. The place of his birth was comparatively a fruitless region, requiring a great amount of labor to raise a livelihood. Here he learned to work while quite young, and the habits of industry he formed clung to him through life. He always worked hard, realizing the truth of the proverb—" The hand of the diligent maketh rich."

Notwithstanding his great industry on the farm, he found time to read and inform himself on the general topics of the day; and in his thoughts and opinions he was far in advance of the majority of his neighbors. Truth, justice, humanity and general goodness formed the basis of all his views and actions.

He was a man of very few words, quite unassuming in manners, kind and benevolent to the needy, and respectful to all with whom he came in contact. For many years he was an unconditional, uncompromising Abolitionist, and was very liberal in the use of his means and influence in the cause of human freedom and progress. He regarded slavery as the great curse of the nation, but was rejoiced that he saw, before he died, the glorious prospect of its speedy overthrow.

For the last seven or eight weeks of his life, he suffered considerably, but was remarkably patient and appreciative. His great anxiety through his sickness was, that he was giving too much trouble to those who had the care of him. He had no idea that he would ever get well, and was quite willing to die, having a bright hope of future good.

He leaves a wife and eight sons and one daughter, who are an honor to the old man's memory. His funeral was attended by a large and respectable class of friends and sympathizers. May his example of industry, patient endurance, generosity, unflinching integrity, and general goodness, long be remembered, and copied by us all! M. BRETTELL.

LYNCH LAW AND MURDER AT NEWBURG.—A few days since, at Newburg, on the Hudson, a colored man, who had recently been discharged from prison after serving a term under a conviction for stealing, was accused of violating the person of an Irish girl and sent to jail to await a legal investigation of the charge. On Sunday last a gang of Irishmen, of the baser sort, inflamed by rot-gut liquor, determined to lynch the accused. Accordingly, a large crowd assembled around the jail, armed with crow-bars, sledge-hammers, and other formidable weapons, with a view to carrying out the terms of their resolution to the letter. Father O'Reilly, the Roman Catholic priest, a gentleman who is highly respected by the citizens of Newburg generally, went to the scene, determined, if he could, to prevent his people disgracing themselves by any outrage against the law. He placed himself in the doorway leading to the jail in the lower part of the building, and declared that no man should pass that way unless he passed over his dead body. He warned them to desist, as if they did any such a thing as they intended, they would be violating the law, and would be held responsible for whatever was done. This had no effect, however; the leaders were primed with rot-gut rum, and they feared neither God, the priest, or man. They pushed the Reverend Father aside, hustled him away from the scene, then proceeded to smash the door with crowbars and sledge-hammers. Of course they soon accomplished their job, and found an easy entrance to the cells: Here they selected their victim, and led him forth out of the jail within reach of the whole mob. Then he was beat, kicked, and stoned by every one who could get within striking distance of him, and, when nearly exhausted with the extraordinary violence to which he had been submitted, they took him and hanged him to a tree under the shadow of the Court-house.

Whether the murderers will be apprehended and punished remains to be seen. The outrage is worthy of Vicksburg or Natchez in the days when those cities were ruled by assassins and gamblers.

STONEWALL JACKSON.—This journal has been considerably criticized for its obituary notice of Stonewall Jackson. We have been charged with speaking too well of that brave man. But if some recent intelligence be true which we hear reported from the other world, our remarks stand abundantly justified. *The Herald of Progress*, a Spiritualist paper of this city, says that Stonewall Jackson has become an Abolitionist since his death, and has joined John Brown's phalanx of philanthropists. What will our critics say now?—*Independent.*

They will say, we presume, that Stonewall Jackson's conversion to abolitionism, since his death, cannot be pleaded as an apology for *The Independent's* endorsement of his character at the time when he was *not* an Abolitionist, but a slaveholder and a traitor. If he is really converted, and a member of John Brown's phalanx, he must himself be intensely disgusted in view of *The Independent's* eulogium.

THE "PECULIAR INSTITUTION" ILLUSTRATED.—We have a photographic likeness of a Louisiana slave's back, taken five or six months after a terrible scourging, and exhibiting from the shoulders to the waist great welts and furrows raised or gouged by the lash, running crosswise and lengthwise—the victim himself presenting a noble countenance and fine physique. " This card photograph," says the New York *Independent*, "should be multiplied by one hundred thousand, and scattered over the States. It tells the story in a way that even Mrs. Stowe cannot approach, because it tells the story to the eye." Price 15 cents. Sent by mail, by enclosing postage stamp. Seven copies for one dollar or $1.50 per dozen.

Address EDITOR OF THE ANTI SLAVERY STANDARD, 48 Beekman st., New York.

AMALGAMATION. — The New York *Observer*, in the course of an indignant commentary upon Theodore Tilton's speech on "The Negro," says : " When he [Mr. Tilton] proposes that we shall amalgamate to civilize, we say, '*After* you, if you please.'" We don't see why the editor of *The Observer* should wait for Mr. Tilton, when it has before it the example of scores of its own slaveholding friends, who don't scruple to mingle their blood with that of the slaves. An apologist for slavery affecting to be shocked by amalgamation offers an example of the very sublimity of impudence.

NEGRO SOLDIERS IN FRANCE.—" Malakoff," the Paris correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, says : " Paris is now in part garrisoned by negroes, and the proud Court of Napoleon III. does not appear to observe that there is anything abnormal in having the guard of the palace mounted by black men. The greater part of the Spahis and the Turcos are Bedouins, it is true, but there are also Ethiopians among them, and all are black alike. They are also employed as an escort for the Imperial carriages on the promenade." What will the American negro-haters say to this?

A BLACK MAN'S WIT.—A correspondent writes : Conversing a few days since with a man, whose notions about the war, slavery, and the rights of the colored race seemed very obfuscated, he narrated the following incident, which I thought worthy of record. You may think so too.

He said that, when in Buffalo, a few days before, he asked a colored man, why, as the white men were fighting about slavery, *he* did not enlist.

" Did you ever see two dogs fighting over a bone?" asked the colored man.

" Yes, to be sure I have," replied the interrogator.

" Well," retorted the colored man, "*did you ever see the bone fight?*"

So smart and apt a reply needs no comment.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for July, the opening number for the twelfth volume, contains the usual variety of articles, as follows : " Doings of the Sunbeam," by Dr. O. W. Holmes ; " Gala Days," by Gail Hamilton ; " The Fleur-de-lis at Port Royal," by Francis Parkman ; " Outside Glimpses of English Poverty," by Nathaniel Hawthorne ; " Paul Bleecker," by the author of " Life in the Iron Mills " ; " The Growth of Continents," by Prof. Agassiz ; " The Musician," a story, by Miss. L. P. Hale ; " English Naval Power and English Colonies," by G. Reynolds ; " The Claims to Service or Labor "—a striking paper, from which we mean to give extracts hereafter—by Robert Dale Owen ; " Our General " (Butler). The poems of the number are, " The Wraith of Odin," by Prof. Longfellow ; " By the River," by J. T. Trowbridge ; " Her Epithaph," by T. W. Parsons. Boston : Ticknor and Fields.

SLAVEHOLDING PIETY AND MORALITY are illustrated in our columns this week by one of the most remarkable manifestoes that we have ever printed, viz : the Appeal of a large body of the Southern Clergy " to Christians throughout the world," in support of Slavery and the Rebellion. The effrontery of these champions of man-stealing and treason is unparalleled, and their " lying pretences " are too barefaced to need exposure in these columns. We had intended, however, to comment briefly upon some points in their appeal, but want of space compels us to desist.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The rebel forces still menace Pennsylvania and Maryland. Detachments from Lee's army are at several different points in those States. From 35,000 to 40,000, under Ewell, are believed to be in the Boonsboro Valley. They have a large quantity of artillery, cavalry and infantry. They are building bridges across the canal, and actively engaged foraging the country, collecting supplies, etc. They crossed at Antietam Ford and Shepherdstown. Gen. Kelly telegraphs that Imboden's cavalry, about 3,000 strong, are at Cacataus.

The rebels, after once retiring from Chambersburg, reoccupied the place on Tuesday; our troops there, under Gen. Knipe, falling back to the main body, leaving cavalry pickets five miles this side. The rebels were thought to be in considerable force. The report that a party of rebels had occupied Gettysburg is denied by the Baltimore *American* of Tuesday, on the authority of a gentleman who left the town on Monday morning. A marauding party has been within ten miles of the place, and that is the nearest approach. The rebel force in Frederick, Md., were driven out on Monday afternoon by a party of our cavalry.

Great excitement is reported as existing in Pittsburg, Penn., in anticipation of a descent of the rebels. They were on Tuesday, said to be at Uniontown, only forty miles distant. Business was entirely suspended, and the citizens were making extensive preparations for the proper reception of the enemy.

The U. S. cavalry under Pleasanton fought with the rebel cavalry under Stuart last Sunday at Middleburg, a village a few miles west of Aldie Gap in the Bull Run Mountains. Pleasanton attacked in the morning and drove the rebels before him all day, taking two pieces of artillery and some prisoners. The rebels left their dead and wounded upon the field, while our loss was small. Gen. Hooker now holds Thoroughfare Gap and Aldie Gap, and we presume the last of the rebels are now cleared out from the East side of the Bull Run Mountains.

The rebel iron-clad ram Fingal, formerly Atlanta, has been captured off Savannah by the iron-clad Weehawken. She came down on the morning of the 17th inst. into Warsaw Sound, by way of Wilmington river, accompanied by two wooden steamers loaded with spectators. The Weehawken, commaded by Captain Rodgers, at once engaged her, and fired in all but five shots, three of which took effect, penetrating her armor and killing or wounding the crews of two guns. Two of her three pilots were also wounded, the top of her pilot-house being shot away. She then grounded, after having fired six shots, and immediately afterward surrendered. Her armament consists of two 7-inch and two 6-inch Brooks guns, rifled, and her officers and crew numbered 165. She had on board instruments and stores for a regular cruise.

We have advices from New Orleans to the 14th inst. The only news from Port Hudson is the statement that the siege is progressing. No details whatever have come to hand. Gen. Sherman has suffered the amputation of his leg, and still survived, but his condition was considered critical.

Official advices from Gen. Grant to the 19th, at noon, report some advantage gained by our forces on the 18th. The siege was progressing satisfactorily.

The Teche country, so recently acquired by Gen. Banks, has been abandoned to the rebels, our entire force being necessary for the investment of Port Hudson. This is more to be regretted on account of the large number of citizens in the Teche country who voluntarily renewed their allegiance. They will be forced to fly from their homes or suffer death. The rebel forces in that section are composed of an incongruous assemblage of volunteers, conscripts, negroes, guerillas, and citizens. They are only prevented from erecting fortifications at Berwick City by the efforts of our artillery. Had they means of crossing the bay our forces would be compelled to retreat.

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

" KING JEFF.' LOOKING AFTER HIS " CHATTELS."

A Vicksburg correspondent of the Chicago *Journal* makes the following significant statement : " It may interest your readers it I state that on Wednesday evening of last week a train of contrabands came into our lines to the number of about two hundred and fifty. In conversation with a sprightly wench, she told me that most of them came from Massa Jeff. and Joe Davis's plantation, and the rest from the adjoining plantation of Col. Petrie. She said she had not seen Massa Jeff. since Christmas ; but an order came last week that on Monday morning they must be taken across the Big Black into Alabama and Georgia ; and, she added, ' when we heard that we put out.'"

FROM WASHINGTON.

June 21.—Col. J. H. Holman, of Missouri, has been designated Colonel of the first colored troops. He is on the Examining Board for officers for these troops, and ranks next to Gen. Casey. Col. Holman has participated in the battles of Island No. 10, under Gen. Pope, of Iuka, and of Corinth. He was also on Gen. Grant's staff. He has the hearty cooperation of the colored soldiers, and will probably have Mr. J. D. Turner, who did much toward raising the first companies, as one of his officers.—*Tribune.*

June 21.—Adj.-Gen. Thomas was brought home yesterday in easy stages from the hospital in Louisville, saved literally from the jaws of death. The North will be interested to hear that Gen. Thomas has organized twenty negro regiments in Lower Mississippi, has put under cultivation sixty abandoned Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas plantations, and, better than all, has totally changed in all the armies of the West and South the pro slavery feeling, and has made the greatest generals and lowest privates sympathetic with his mission and respectful of a black American with a musket in his hands. Of the negro, Gen. Thomas says that everywhere he fights like an avenging angel.—*Times.*

THE BANNER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS 55TH.

J. Mercer Langston, at a meeting held in Oberlin, on the 10th inst., exhibited the banner and flags prepared for the Massachusetts 55th, by the colored ladies of Ohio. The Oberlin *News* thus describes them : " The banner is a magnificent one,—rich and beautiful in the extreme. The field is a rich blue, surrounded by an orange colored border. In the centre is a finely wrought American eagle of an orange color, over which hovers a cloud pierced by the rays of the sun, and bearing the exceedingly appropriate words from Patrick Henry, 'Liberty or Death!' Below the eagle are found the following words in letters of gold, 'Presented by the Colored Ladies of Ohio, to the 55th Massachusetts Regiment of Colored Volunteers of U. S. A.' Accompanying this banner are also three American flags, one large and two small ones—bearing the Stars and Stripes—no longer, as Mr. Langston eloquently said, typical to the slave of Fugitive Slave laws, but of Liberty itself."

THE NEGROES IN BALTIMORE.

Baltimore, June 21, 1863.—During the recent excitement in this city, the negroes have never been impressed into the work upon the fortifications. There are many hundreds of really industrious and honest negroes here who also have families. These having been paid off last evening (Saturday), were on their way to the markets with their baskets to get their Sunday dinner, when they were intercepted by the police and marched off with the rest to work on the entrenchments. Their entreaties to be allowed to take home their marketing were in most cases disregarded, and the poor fellows, after working hard all day, were compelled to dig all night. Many a family of little piccaninnies went, in consequence, dinnerless to-day. The same operation was repeated at the negro churches today. Many a negro dandy, to his intense disgust, is now working side by side in the trenches with the humble stevedore.—*Herald.*

THROUGH ROCHESTER.

A detachment of one hundred and five colored soldiers passed through Rochester on Sunday evening, June 14, on the way to Boston, to join the 55th Massachusetts regiment. The Rochester *Democrat* says that while the soldiers were in the depot in that city " one of the bystanders made some insulting remark about 'niggers' fighting, etc., when one of the number administered a sharp rebuke to him, saying, 'Yes, yes; I know all about you. I was brought up among just such copperheads as you are.' The severity of the repartee excited a laugh, and the grumbler subsided."

THE REJECTION OF COLORED TROOPS.

From The Philadelphia Dial.

We regret very much that General Couch did not, *could* not legally, it is said, accept the services of the company of colored men which volunteered for the defense of the State. It was composed of eighty of the best colored citizens of Philadelphia, who answered at once the urgent call of the Governor. They armed themselves, elected white officers, and asked no favors. All they wished was an opportunity to aid in the defense of their State. They even paid their own way to Harrisburg, not being able to obtain transportation, and when they reached that city their services were declined. When brave men are thus tied up with red tape, something must be wrong.

General Couch, we believe, stated that technical provisions necessitated the refusal of the company. We know, however, that had technical orders been generally obeyed, Harrisburg would have had very few defenders. The organization of colored troops will, probably, meet with other difficulties, but it should not discourage those engaged in a work so honorable and important.

From The Philadelphia North American.

We notice among the companies first going forward for the defence of the State one of colored men, from Huntingdon County, and several companies of colored men from Philadelphia. Although Spencer Miller's battery was the first detachment of any kind to arrive at Harrisburg from this city, a body of about two hundred and fifty colored troops were the first to offer themselves to the Mayor ready for service. They were well drilled, having been engaged in drilling for several months past. They go out with white officers, who have seen hard service. We doubt not that the example thus set will be a wholesome one, and that large numbers of colored men will gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to enter the national service, and fight under the banner of their country, a country which, in truth, has not done much for them beyond furnishing them with a birth-place.

A SLAVE CAPTURING HIS MASTER.

A Vicksburg correspondent of *The Post*, giving an account of the late fight at Milliken's Bend, mentions the following : " Among the incidents of the fight worthy of note was the capture of a rebel soldier by a negro who was his slave three months ago. The Texan was caught in a tight place by one of Col. Leib's men, who cried out to him, 'Hold on dar and put down your gun, or I'll shoot!' The rebel surrendered unconditionally ; but, after identifying his captor, said to one of our officers that he protested against being held as a prisoner by his own slave. 'It's good enough for you,' said the officer ; 'that's just the man to guard you. And, Jim (addressing the soldier), if he don't behave himself, shoot him down.' The chivalrous Southerner was very indignant, and his wrath effervesced in a series of oaths, which fell upon the ears of the 'intelligent contraband' without effect. The dusky warrior kept a close eye upon his prisoner, but refused to hold any conversation with him, or answer any of his questions as to when he enlisted, or how he dared to level a gun at his master."

COL. MONTGOMERY AMONG THE REBELS.

From The Beaufort Free South.

What Stoneman and Grierson are upon the horse, Col. Jim Montgomery is upon foot. With but 250 negro soldiers, on board the gunboat John Adams and the transports Harriet A. Weed and Sentinel, he left Beaufort on the evening of the 1st inst., and at 2½ on the following morning anchored his little fleet in the Combahee river, 30 miles distant from the point of his departure, 20 miles from Charleston, and 15 from the village of Ashepoo, on the Charleston and Savannah Railroad. The Sentinel, unfortunately, got aground at the mouth of the Coosaw river, and was of no service to the expedition ; the troops on board of her were transferred to the John Adams and the Harriet A. Weed.

The village of Ashepoo is approached from the Combahee by three different roads, one from Field's Point, where the rebels had constructed a battery, but had deserted it—one from Tar Bluff, two miles above Field's Point, and one from Combahee Ferry, six miles further up the river.

In accordance with the plan fully determined upon before his departure, Col. Montgomery, almost at the same instant, took possession of the three approaches to Ashepoo, placing Capt. T. N. Thompson with one company in the earthworks at Field's Point; Capt. Carver with Company E in the rifle-pits at Tar Bluff, and then, with the balance of his force, proceeded to Combahee Ferry, and with the guns of the John Adams and two howitzers, under command of Capt. Brayton, completely covered the road and the approaches to the bridge.

These points were all occupied without opposition. To leceive the enemy, and lead him to suppose that his force was much larger than it really was, he instructed the officer in command at these difficult points to retain but a few men in reserve, and throw out nearly their entire strength as skirmishers.

At Ashepoo the rebels had three regiments of infantry, one battalion of cavalry, and a full battery of artillery. As Capt. Thompson advanced up the road leading from Field's Point, cavalry came in sight, but a few well-directed volleys soon sent them galloping back in confusion to their stronghold at Ashepoo.

At half-past 3 p m., a battery of six pieces arrived and opened a brisk fire. Not a man flinched, but, from such hiding places as they could find poured volley after volley upon the gunners, killing and wounding a number. In the midst of this little engagement the Harriet A. Weed came up, and a well-directed shell from her guns, under the direction of Capt. Holden, caused a retreat of the rebel artillery. The raid upon this road then commenced in earnest. The soldiers scattered in every direction, and burned and destroyed everything of value they came across. Thirty-four large mansions known to belong to notorious rebels, with all their rich furniture, and rare works of art, were burned to the ground. Nothing but smouldering ruins and parched and crisped skeletons of once magnificent old oak and palmetto groves now remain of these delightful country seats.

After scattering the rebel artillery, the Harriet A. Weed tied up opposite a large plantation, owned by Nicholas and Kirkland. Major Corwin, in command of companies B and C, soon effected a landing without opposition. The white inhabitants, terrified at the sight of negro soldiers, with loaded muskets in their hands, ran in every direction, while the slave population rushed to the boats with every demonstration of joy and gratitude. Three rice-houses well filled with rice, a large amount in ricks in the yard, and four large mills of different kinds, were destroyed. Mansions, negro quarters, and everything inflammable, was consigned to the flames. Sluices were opened, plantations flooded, and broad ponds and lakes made where, but a few hours before, luxuriant crops of rice and corn were putting forth their leaves.

Capt. Carver, with Company C, landed at Tar Bluff. After a skillful disposition of his pickets, the enemy's cavalry appeared in sight, and threatened to ever whelm his little party, but upon throwing out his whole force, he succeeded in repulsing every charge, and finally drove them entirely out of sight. Upon this road several large steam rice-mills, three cotton-gins, and a fine saw-mill were destroyed, together with an immense amount of other property.

Capt. Hoyt, Company A, landed at Combahee Ferry at 7½ a.m., encountered cavalry pickets the moment he began to advance, but after a short engagement, drove them back in disorder. The fine bridge across the Combahee river was then destroyed, together with all the adjacent property.

Having brought within his lines nearly 800 valuable slaves ; having destroyed property to the amount of two million, most of which belonged to notorious leaders in this rebellion ; having demonstrated that negro soldiers will follow and fight wherever a brave and bold man dares lead them, and that the slave population of South Carolina are eager to embrace the opportunity to escape, Col. Montgomery returned to Beaufort early on the morning of the 3d inst, without the loss of a man. He subsequently went to St. Simon's (Ga.) Island. Upon arriving at his post, he immediately went to work to discover what the rebels were about in his vicinity, and what damage he could inflict upon them in the way of destroying valuable property. On the 8th inst., with four companies of the 2d S. C, on board the Harriet A. Weed and the John Adams, he ascended Turtle river to within a short distance of Brunswick, and after throwing a few shells into the place, discovered that it was entirely deserted. The Harriet A. Weed getting aground, and the John Adams drawing too much water, it was deemed advisable not to occupy the city or proceed further up the river.

Capts. Apthorp and Adams, desiring not to return, without accomplishing something, took a skiff, with six men, rowed up to the bridge of the Savannah and Brunswick Railroad, fired it in four different places, and had the satisfaction of seeing it totally destroyed before they returned.

On their return to the steamer they were fired upon from a thicket by some 15 or 20 rebels ; but with the exception of Sergt Leonard, who received a slight flesh wound in the arm, not a man was hit. After shelling the woods by the John Adams, the party returned to St. Simon's Island.

Col. Montgomery has made another expedition down to Darien, where he destroyed the rebel salt works and captured a cotton schooner. The town was destroyed. On this expedition quite a serious mutiny occurred on or near the transport Saxon. A detachment of the 1st South Carolina, which composed the expedition, was ordered by the officers to enter a boat and pull to the shore on a reconnoisance. The men refused, but finally entered the boat, when they declined to take oars and pull ashore. The order was repeated and disobeyed, and when the officer in command attempted to enforce his orders, he was set upon by one of his negro soldiers, who beat him severely, breaking some of his ribs, and injuring him quite seriously. Another officer in the boat drew his pistol on the malcontent, but before he could fire, the negro raised and discharged his musket at him, fortunately missing him, but killed his brother who was in the boat. The officer instantly fired upon the assassin, and killed him on the spot. The affair here terminated, but it was thought advisable to return to Port Royal, which was done, and the mutineers were placed in charge of the Provost Marshal in irons. The matter will be duly investigated, and a proper punishment awarded the negroes.

BRAVERY OF THE BLACKS AT MILLIKEN'S BEND.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

In the Rear of Vicksburg, June 9.—On Saturday, the 6th inst., a large force of rebels was discovered approaching Milliken's Bend. We had there a few white troops and several partially organized colored regiments—altogether forming a force inferior in point of numbers to that of the attacking party. The rebels were chiefly infantry, and are represented to have been without artillery. Without delay they attacked our troops and drove them to the river. Here the colored regiments rallied, and afterward succeeded in repulsing the enemy with heavy slaughter on both sides. The next day the rebels renewed the attack, and the fighting was desperate, a portion of the time being a hand to hand encounter. The blacks clubbed their muskets and struggled with a valor and persistance which desperation alone could inspire. They fell back slowly to the river where the gunboats finally appeared and saved them from capture and slaughter. On all hands, the conduct of the colored troops is spoken of as heroic. There are stories circulating in camp about their white officers deserting them, about a number—forty or more—having been captured, and murdered near a cottongin in the neighborhood, as well as many exaggerated statements of the number of killed and of the strength of the enemy. At present writing, I can make nothing more out of the conflicting rumors and stories afloat, than I have already written. It seems settled, however, that the negroes fought well, whatever may have been the details of the affair. Their loss in killed is variously estimated at from two to four hundred, while that of the enemy may be counted by smaller figures. I have not yet learned who was in command on either side, but it is said that the rebels were Texan troops, commanded by McCulloch, a brother of Ben. A rebel colonel is reported killed.

June 10.—We did not get a mail off yesterday, and this morning I am able to add some details and particulars of the bloody engagements at Milliken's Bend on the 6th and 7th inst. As this has been perhaps the most important affair of the kind during the war, in which colored troops have been engaged, the details here given will be read with interest.

Gen. Dennis, within a few days past, was directed to relieve Gen. Sullivan in command at Young's Point and Milliken's Bend. He proceeded to the Bend directly after receiving the order, and immediately afterward ordered a reconnoisance by two companies of the 10th Illinois Cavalry, supported by a detachment 150 strong of the 9th Louisiana (colored infantry), under Col. Lieb. On the 6th, this reconnoitering party discovered a portion of the enemy. The cavalry, after exchanging a few shots, fell back in its support. The enemy followed, and were well received by Col. Lieb's colored troops, who delivered a murderous volley and then charged, driving everything before them, until the rebels were so strongly reinforced as to induce Col. Lieb to withdraw from further pursuit. Our forces fell back to their entrenched positions in the Bend. Gen. Dennis had, in the meantime, ordered to the support of the garrison, at the Bend, the 23d Iowa and the gunboat Choctaw. Col. Glasgow, of the 23d, being the senior officer at the post, assumed the command, and made his dispositions to receive the attack.

The attack was made the next morning about 5 o'clock, and lasted until sometime in the afternoon, ending with the repulse of the enemy.

Our men were posted in the entrenchments in the following order : On the right, extending from the old levee to the new levee, was a line of breastworks made with cotton bales. Behind this defense, and a portion of the new levee, were posted the 11th and 13th Louisiana and the 1st Mississippi regiments, all colored, which constituted our right wing and centre. Behind earthworks on the left, were the 23d Iowa, 120 strong, and the 9th Louisiana, colored, 250 strong. The four colored regiments mustered in all about 1,000 men—being incomplete in organization and undisciplined.

The enemy succeeded, by use of his cavalry, after a desperate resistance, in turning our left flank, and our troops were then exposed to an infilading fire, which finally drove them from their works to the river's brink. The gunboat Choctaw then got the range of the rebels, and speedily drove them from the field. They retired to the woods, and have only been heard from since through a few prisoners and deserters.

The enemy left 60 dead on the field, which were buried by our troops, and carried away the most of their wounded.

A brother to the notorious Ben McCulloch, who ranks as a general, I believe, commanded the rebels. He is reported by a deserter to have been severely wounded in the thigh, rendering amputation necessary, from the shock of which he died. Col. Allen, formerly of the regular army, is also reported to have been killed.

Casualties among Officers of 9th Louisiana (colored) Regiment.

KILLED—1st Lieut, Jacob Bonner ; 2d Lieut., L. Walter ; 2d Lieut., Henry Wittmore ; 1st Sergeant, H. F. Perrine ; 1st Sergeant, Charles M. Cady ; 1st Sergeant, John J. Wise.

WOUNDED—H. Lieb, colonel commanding all the negro regiments ; Captains Hirrong, De Witt, Hammond, Heath ; Lieutenants Spillen, M. M. Miller, Paine, Cornwell ; 1st Sergeant, John M. Ayers.

Beside the above named officers, 55 colored men were killed and 120 wounded ; making a loss in killed and wounded from this one regiment, 152 out of 250.

In the other colored regiments the loss has not yet been ascertained, but it was not heavy, as they occupied the right, and were not so hotly engaged as the left.

Gen. Dennis, Col. Lieb, and others, who have the best opportunities for knowing the facts, unite in saying, that although the colored troops were taken at disadvantage, they displayed soldierly qualities in an eminent degree, and did as well as any troops could have done under the circumstances.

FOR COLDS, COUGHS, BRONCHITIS, and all affections of the Lungs, take AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL, which is sure to cure them.

Summary.

A BEAUTIFUL ACT.—The New Bedford *Mercury* mentions the following incident : A lad recently applied to his father for seventy-five cents, with which to go on a picnic. Obtaining this sum, he procured from his mother an additional amount of twenty-five cents for the same innocent purpose. Thus in funds, the little fellow hired two jobbing wagons, proceeded to the Orphans' Home, and treated the little inmates to a ride. That was his pic-nic.

THE SCHOOLMASTER NEEDED.—A letter was mailed at the postoffice in Worcester, Massachusetts, some days since, with the following superscription, viz. :

Martin oMealey ohigher street
North ward gigargo
State ellenois
in care of John Gibenson

RAILROAD CATASTROPHE IN GEORGIA.—A serious accident, resulting in the death of fourteen negroes and the injury of many others, took place on the Augusta (Ga.) Railroad on the 1st instant. The negroes were from the estate of Gen. Wade Hampton, and were going by extra train from Mississippi to South Carolina. After nightfall several cars loaded with negroes, six hundred in all, were disconnected from the rest of the train and left standing on the track, where they were run into by the down passenger train, while the negroes were asleep.

A Captain in the army writes to the Boston *Transcript* that Major Winthrop, killed at Great Bethel, was shot by a negro. The writer says : " I have it from a member of the Wythe Rifles, of Hampton, Va., who was present at the fight and saw Winthrop fall, that he was shot by a negro at the suggestion and command of the Captain of the rifles, who said to him substantially : ' These Yankees will take you to Cuba and sell you. If you wish to stay with your wife and children, drive them out of Virginia.' The negro fired, and, unconsciously to him, there fell one of the earliest and best friends of the race to which he belonged."

" A female slave was recently sold in Richmond for $3,080. *She was entirely white, hence the remarkable price commanded.*"

This is one of the beautiful features of that " divine, peculiar institution," which must not be discussed. This wretched female slave is probably the half-sister of some elegant lady who moves in the best circles of F. F. V. society in the rebel capital. How strange that the " Conservative " papers are as dumb as death about such shocking cases, but still take delight in holding up to public execration the much less revolting cases of amalgamation, which occur at rare intervals in the free States.—*Nashville Union.*

THE TOWN OF DEERFIELD, MASS.—that staid and dignified place—has endangered its reputation for conservatism, by electing a woman one of the members of the School Committee. It was a perfectly gratuitous innovation, for several men were willing to serve, and yet the people, unmindful of their antecedents, and wondering why they had not had the wisdom to do so before, persisted in casting four-fifths of their ballots for the lady of their choice. In this instance, no possible harm can be done to the cause of education, but the influence of such an example may prove disastrous in newer settlements. If they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?—*Cor. Chris. Inquirer.*

A GOOD STORY comes to us from over the water concerning the emigration to America of some 70 ex-tenants of Lord Palmerston's Irish estates—the sequel to a horrible English scandal, that they had been enticed away from milk and honey in Ireland to be made speedy food for powder in our army. The facts were, that, to keep them from starving, Lord Palmerston was taxed for their aid ; he wrote to his local agent that he would pay their passage to any British colony ; the agent wrote back that the ungrateful bodies said they had enough of British rule, and if they moved at all they would move quite out of British dominion. Whereupon Lord Palmerston replied that he would pay their obstinate passage (steerage) to the —— ! They preferred the United States, which, for the rest, Lord Palmerston doubtless believes to be going in that direction.

THE ANIMUS OF COPPERHEADISM was well illustrated by a diabolical outrage which took place in Illinois, near Quincy. A family of negroes escaped from Missouri, consisting of a man, his wife, her brother and infant. They were met by two white men, who ordered them to return to Missouri. The single negro started to run, when one of the fellows fired at him, and he fell, but soon picked himself up and started off again. The fellow who fired the shot then discharged his other barrel at the remaining negro, who carried the infant. The scattering shot struck the man and child, the former in the neck and shoulders, and the latter in neck and legs. The victims were then compelled to retrace their steps, but before reaching the river were taken care of by parties in sympathy. Is there a living man who doubts that these wretches and assassins are loud in their denunciation of the President's proclamation, and in favor of restoring McClellan to the head of the army?—*Cor. Tribune.*

THE BOSTON SNOBS AND THE 54TH REGIMENT.—Some few of the Boston snobs could not quite conceal their disgust at the success attending the raising of the first colored regiment in this State. For instance, the councillor for the Boston district, true to his old instincts and his party constituents, voted against the warrant for paying the men their bounties ; and of all the public functionaries and military men who were invited to accompany the Governor and staff in reviewing the regiment on the common on the day of its departure, the officers of the cadets—a company that is recognized as the Governor's guards—were alone absent and unrepresented. One of the officers of the cadets had a valid excuse in the death of a relative, and by a very wonderful coincidence, all of his colleagues found themselves with other and unavoidable engagements on hand for that day.—*Springfield Republican.*

MURDER OF A SLAVE BY HER MASTER.—A correspondent of *The Tribune*, accompanying Grant's army in Mississippi, writes : " I may as well mention an incident which came within my knowledge, and which adds one to the ten thousand proofs of the fact that slavery is not, after all, such a Divine institution as the Nehemiah Adamses represent it. A negro—evidently an honest man, as we gathered both from his manner and from the correctness of his information about the roads—told us that he was the slave of a Mr. Beverly Blunt, whose plantation terminated on the Edward's Depot road ; that his master was deformed in both hands and club-footed ; that he had told the wife of this man to weave a certain piece of cloth within a week ; that she misunderstood the order, or for some reason failed to fulfil it, and in consequence received 500 lashes, and was afterward hit in the face with a board by this monster in form and character, and, after lingering some time, died from the effects of this most unnatural punishment."

THE NEW POSTAGE LAW.—The new postage law takes effect July 1st. On and after that date the postage on all letters, not exceeding one half ounce, to places in the United States will be three cents ; and for each additional half ounce, or fraction thereof, an additional rate of three cents, to be prepaid by postage stamps. If not prepaid, double rates are charged. For unsealed circulars, two cents for three circulars. Drop or local letters two cents per half ounce prepaid, and no carrier's fees, they having regular salaries ; and letters and papers to be delivered in cities free of charge. The postage on newspapers by mail, for all distances, in or out of the State, will be as follows after July 1 : Daily, $1.20 a year, or 30c. a quarter ; tri-weekly, 60c. a year, or 15c. a quarter ; semi-weekly, 40 and 10c. ; and weekly, 20c. a year or 5c. a quarter. The only exception to this simple, uniform rate, is, that weekly papers will go free, as heretofore, to subscribers in the County of publication.

CAN THE AFRICAN BE A MAN?—A late number of the Detroit *Adcertiser* publishes the following item :

The propellor Omar Pasha, on her last trip up from Buffalo, came very near being wrecked, having been struck by a heavy gale on Wednesday last, just below Long Point. When off Port Stanley the packing worked out of her steam chest, and she became perfectly unmanageable. Destruction seemed almost inevitable. Her crew, who were colored, worked like heroes, notwithstanding they expected every moment to be launched into eternity. She lost her large anchor, and the cabins were all worked loose. She was nineteen hours at anchor, and her crew were twenty hours without food. She met with a most miraculous escape, and had it not been for the unflinching nerve of her captain and gallant crew, she and all on board would have probably now been at the bottom of the Lake. The Omar finally reached the port in safety, leaking rather badly.

THE WHOLE STORY.—It was worth going to England to speak the truth as plainly and pithily as Pres Sturtevant told it at the Congregational Dinner in London. His words were brief, but they tell the whole story. He said :

" Gentlemen, there is but one disturber of the peace in America, and that is slavery (cheers). If the American people have learnt nothing else by this war, it has taught them that. I would take it upon myself on any proper occasion to demonstrate that there can be no peace on the continent of North America until negro slavery receives its death-blow (cheers). I only ask, When are the war cries heard when will America again be at peace? when will she again furnish cotton to the mills of Lancashire and a customer for English produce, and once more aid in the civilizing of the world? I reply, When slavery has received its death-wound, and has laid down to die—then, and not till then (loud cheers)."

AN AGED NEGRO.—A Beaufort (N. C.) correspondent writes, May 23 : " I this morning called to see a colored man residing at this place, who is said by the people who know him to be one hundred and seven years old. His name is Lawrence Slade. He was born at a place near Swansboro' in this State, and has resided for more than seventy years at Newbern. He has seen his masters flourish and fade down to the third and fourth generations ; has lived through seven wars and scenes of bloodshed, and says he has never before seen a war like this

Miscellaneous Department.

IN WAR-TIME.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

[Read before the Alumni of the Friends' Yearly Meeting School, at the annual meeting at Newport, Rhode Island, 15th Sixth month, 1863.]

Once more, dear friends, you meet beneath
A clouded sky;
Not yet the sword has found its sheath,
And, on the sweet spring airs the breath
Of war floats by.

Yet trouble springs not from the ground,
Nor pain from chance;
Th' Eternal order circles round,
And wave and storm find mete and bound
In Providence.

Full long our feet the flowery ways
Of peace have trod,
Content with creed and garb and phrase:
A harder path in earlier days
Led up to God.

Too cheaply truths, once purchased dear,
Are made our own;
Too long the world has smiled to hear
Our boast of full corn in the ear
By others sown;

To see us stir the martyr fires
Of long ago;
And wrap our satisfied desires
In the singed mantles that our sires
Have dropped below.

But now the cross our worthies bore
On us is laid.
Profession's quiet sleep is o'er,
And in the scale of truth once more
Our faith is weighed.

The cry of innocent blood at last
Is calling down
An answer in the whirlwind-blast,
The thunder and the shadow cast
From Heaven's dark frown.

The land is red with judgments. Who
Stands guiltless forth?
Have we been faithful as we knew,
To God and to our brother true,
To Heaven and Earth?

How faint through din of merchandise
And count of gain,
Has seemed to us the captives' cries!
How far away the tears and sighs
Of souls in pain!

This day the fearful reckoning comes
To each and all;
We hear amidst our peaceful homes
The summons of the conscript drums,
The bugle's call.

Our path is plain: the war-net draws
Round us in vain,
While, faithful to the Higher Cause,
We keep our fealty to the laws
Through patient pain.

The levelled gun, the battle brand
We may not take;
But, calmly loyal, we can stand
And suffer with our suffering land
For conscience' sake.

Why ask for ease where all is pain?
Shall we alone
Be left to add our gain to gain,
When over Armageddon's plain
The trump is blown?

To suffer well is well to serve;
Safe in our Lord
The rigid lines of law shall curve
To spare us; from our heads shall swerve
Its smiting sword.

And light is mingled with the gloom,
And joy with grief;
Divinest compensations come,
Through thorns of judgment mercies bloom
In sweet relief.

Thanks for our privilege to bless,
By word and deed,
The widow in her keen distress,
The childless and the fatherless,
The hearts that bleed!

For fields of duty, opening wide,
Where all our powers
Are tasked the eager steps to guide
Of millions on a path nutried:
THE SLAVE IS OURS!

Ours by traditions dear and old
Which make the race
Our wards to cherish and uphold,
And cast their freedom in the mold
Of Christian grace.

And we may tread the sick-bed floors
Where strong men pine,
And, down the groaning corridors,
Pour freely from our liberal stores
The oil and wine.

Who murmurs that in these dark days
His lot is cast?
God's hand within the shadow lays
The stones whereon His gates of praise
Shall rise at last.

Turn and o'erturn, O outstretched Hand?
Nor stint, nor stay;
The years have never dropped their sand
On mortal issue vast and grand
As ours to-day.

Already, on the sable ground
Of man's despair,
Is freedom's glorious picture found,
With all its dusky hands unbound
Upraised in prayer.

Oh, small shall seem all sacrifice
And pain and loss,
When God shall wipe the weeping eyes,
For suffering give the victor's prize,
The crown for cross!

—*Independent.*

EFFECTS ABROAD OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

WHAT BRITISH WORKMEN THINK.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

MANCHESTER, JUNE 4, 1863.

LAST night there took place at the Free Trade Hall in this city one of those remarkable demonstrations in favor of the North by which the working classes of England have so often shown their appreciation of the true merits of the struggle between Federal and Confederate power. Fully six thousand persons met in one of the finest public rooms in the world to give, by their presence, a solemn record against the hated slavocracy.

The Free Trade Hall is already an historic place. It was erected in commemoration of the passage of the Reform laws, and took the place of the original edifice wherein had occurred the discussions which led to those laws. It is an enormous place, lighted from thirteen clusters of gas-jets in the ceiling, and provided with a wide gallery, running around three sides of the building, while the other end is occupied by a large organ, a speaker's desk, and a platform for the use of musicians at concerts. When filled, as it was last night, by a large and excited audience, the scene is at once grand and singular.

During the day there had been convened in Manchester a Conference of anti-slavery clergymen, met to receive the report of a committee who had the reply to the address forwarded by the clergy of France to their English brethren in regard to American slavery. This letter of the French pastors—chiefly Pretestants—had seven hundred and fifty signatures, and was addressed to the ministers of all evangelical denominations in England, Scotland and Ireland, urging them to "take the lead in a great and peaceful manifestation of sympathy for the colored race."

In accordance with this document the Conference prepared an address "to the ministers and pastors of all Christian denominations throughout the States of America," which will appear in full in the American papers.

The Emancipation Society of this place thought the presence of so many clergymen of influence, identified with the anti-slavery cause, could be turned to good account, and so organized the great public meeting of last night.

It was currently reported through Manchester during the day that a disturbance would take place in the evening. The Southern Club and the secessionists' emissaries openly boasted of the coming "row," but all this talk did not prevent the six thousand people—about one-fifth of whom were ladies—from attending.

Mr. T. B. Potter was chairman, and Rev. Dr. Massie, an orator of considerable fire and eloquence, made the first speech. He enunciated the boldest sentiments about slavery, and the Confederacy as allied to it. He said that he and his fellow-laborers were present to-night in the name of God—in the name of Him who had, as he believed, permitted a negro to help him carry His cross to Calvary; and in His name he stood forward to ask his audience to denounce American slavery and brand its crime with the anathema of the people of God. He stated that 3860 ministers in England, Ireland and Scotland had signed the address to the American pastors. This document he asked permission to read, but the unruly element in the audience objected, and hissing and groans interrupted the reading.

Rev. Marmaduke Miller, the next speaker, quoted Richard Baxter, Dr. Channing, Thomas Fuller, Horace Smith and others on the evils of slavery. He denounced the London *Times* as "infamous"—a verdict which the audience heartily supported.

Rev. Dr. King urged the advantages of emancipation. He defined the negro as one in the image of God, with the image and superscription trampled on but not trampled out.

Rev. Dr. McMichael, a professor of ecclesiastical history from Dunfermline, Scotland, brought forward a number of arguments against slavery, which are too familiar in America to demand rehearsal here. During his remarks the secession element became still more noisy, and at times the speaker was inaudible; but the disgraceful tumult was somewhat calmed when Mr. Baptist Noel was announced.

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, who at public meetings is always announced with these preliminary titles, is one of the leading dissenters of England. Of a rich and noble family, he entered the Church and became one of its most noted clergymen; but some ten years ago he created a great excitement in the religious community by joining the Baptist persuasion. He is now about fifty years old, something like Lord Palmerston in personal appearance. As a speaker he is quiet and sarcastic, rather than noisy.

But with such an unruly element to work against, a noisy speaker was needed last night. The Southern disturbers knew that if Mr. Noel's remarks could be really heard, they would tell upon the audience, and thus they tried their best to drown him. They gave three cheers for Jeff. Davis, which incident the speaker happily turned to account, by asking his audience to give cheers for Lincoln; whereupon a tremendous shout, the wild waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and the most genuine enthusiasm, showed how vastly was the majority in favor of the North.

Mr. Noel's main argument in his able though interrupted address was, that there is no hope for emancipation in the success and independence of the South. He said that the interruptions to which he was subjected were also experienced by Fox when describing in the House of Commons the mischiefs of slavery—and he adopted Fox's reply: "You cannot bear to hear these things, but you can bear to let them be done." Mr. Noel proceeded to describe the Slave Power, and then directly addressed the Southern sympathizers present, quoting from the writings of secession leaders, and giving a scathing recountal of the deeds of Jefferson Davis. He concluded by urging every patriotic Englishman to speak, think and talk when he can, and read when he can, and in favor of emancipation, reunion and peace.

Mr. J. H. Rylance, a young man from London—an earnest, noisy, attractive speaker, as animated as if fresh from an American "stump"—appealed to the audience as a Manchester man, to be heard without interruption. He had visited America, and spent some time in the slaveholding States, and he now made his chief point—and a good point it was, too—in addressing four or five thousand workingmen on the desire of Southern capital to *own* laborers. He maintained that it was not a question of color, but one affecting the rights of workingmen everywhere.

He said that in the South the slave-owners told him in plain terms, that they pitied England for her social troubles and strikes, but that the only way to avoid them was *to own the laborers*, and not let them contract at all with the capitalist. "Would you, Lancashire mechanics, allow all your mill-owners to possess you? to stand you in a row in the market-place, and feel your muscle, and order you to open your mouth and show your teeth? Yet this is what the Southern slave-owner taunts and pities rich Englishmen for not doing." Altogether Mr. Rylance's speech was the most effective of the evening. It was rude, almost coarse, yet it told immensely, and the secessionists at the doors did not dare to interrupt it.

Rev. Dr. Parker, of Manchester, made a final speech, after which Jacob [Joseph] Barker, a leading secessionist, tried to get on the platform, but was not allowed to address the audience.

This Barker is well known in America. He entered public life as a Methodist minister, then turned Unitarian, and afterwards an avowed atheist and a prominent atheistical writer. Of late he has claimed to have returned to the Christian Church and to be strictly orthodox. He is tall, has gray hair, and speaks with great glibness and facility. He has been giving lectures in this city on behalf of the South, and the Northern sympathizers do not emulate their Southern opponents by attempting to raise "rows" and break up meetings.

It should be borne in mind that this monster meeting was an expression of public feeling on the emancipation movement, and had a philanthropic rather than a political aspect. Loud cheers were given for Mr. Lincoln, as an apostle of emancipation more than as the President of the United States, while the cause of the North was warmly espoused because it is the cause identified with anti-slavery. The Emancipation Society here is very active. Immense placards hide the walls, giving choice extracts from previous speeches of secession leaders *against* secession. Stephens's anti-secession protest against withdrawing Georgia from the Union, delivered at the Georgia State Convention, in January, 1861, has been plentifully distributed, and a plum from the London *Times* is appended thereto, the plum reading thus:

"TESTIMONY OF THE LONDON TIMES.—'The North is for freedom, the South is for slavery. The North is for freedom of discussion, the South represses freedom of discussion with the tar brush and the pine faggot.'—*Times*, January 7, 1861."

The working classes in Lancashire—and I can say it after pretty extensive travels through the cotton districts—maintain through all their troubles, in spite of all the artful representations of the secession agents, their warm sympathy for the North. Where a British workman defends the South, it is not her cause nor her institutions, but her generals that he praises. The character of Stonewall Jackson was one that could not but inspire admiration in a pluck-loving people; and this pluck and dash, and energy of certain Southern leaders, makes some people overlook the wickedness of the cause for which they fight. But the moment some bold Northern military leader wins genuine successes, and not merely drawn battles, this same minority will transfer the admiration to the winning side, and with double zeal, for they can then unreservedly applaud both men and measures.

W. F. W.

A PIC-NIC ON THE BARNWELL PLANTATION.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

BEAUFORT, S. C., May 26, 1863.

SEVERAL pleasant entertainments, partly of a social and partly of a philanthropic nature, were given by the accomplished lady of Gen. Saxton last week. A pic-nic in the heart of a military department, within sight of an armed enemy, beneath a grove where for many generations the sons and daughters of the proud Barnwells, and the fair youths from the adjoining plantations, baronial almost in extent, were wont to gather upon full moonlight evenings, and stroll beneath the long avenues of moss-covered oaks and palmettoes, and "trip upon the light fantastic toe" to the sound of music, is indeed deserving of passing notice, and such, I trust, I may be permitted to give it.

Correspondents long ago made the reading public at the North familiar with the fact that the beautiful little city of Beaufort, on Port Royal Island, was, before the rebellion, the Newport of the South, the Summer residence of many of the most aristocratic planters in the State, and that nearly every family upon all the islands around the great Bay of Port Royal was represented in this city by a large, generous, hospitable family mansion, with wide-open doors, inviting their friends and relatives from all sections of the country to come up and partake of good cheer. What this charming little city of Beaufort was upon a small scale, the whole Island of Port Royal was upon a much larger one. Indeed, one feels while riding over these great plantations that they are but grand parks, laid out and designed both by God and man to minister to the sense of the beautiful, rather than the useful.

It was at one of these plantations we were invited to spend one of the most delightful of May days. Not a cloud was in the sky. Broad River stretched to the rebel mainland like a vast sheet of silver, without the least speck to mar its placid surface. The birds warbled their sweetest songs, all nature seemed joyous and jubilant, and to have concealed every feature that would remind us that war, and death, and desolation were stalking through our land.

A small party, among whom it was my privilege to be numbered, were invited to leave Beaufort at an early hour, and reach the ground selected for the entertainment before the guests for whom the pic-nic was more specially intended should arrive.

Although nature had contributed so much to make the spot selected attractive, cultivated taste, an eye for the picturesque, and not a little true artistic genius were required to arrange and group the details so as to satisfy the most fastidious; and who more competent to discharge this task than the accomplished Col. Higginson, of the 1st South Carolina, and one whose name in this connection I am not permitted to mention, but who is an artist, original and pure, a Christian, sincere and active; a woman, noble and full of the best impulses. With these accomplished persons to suggest and direct, it can easily be understood that we soon prepared for the approaching party a scene that might have enticed the original pair from the groves of Eden. And now for the picture. The central figure was the old Robert Barnwell Mansion, Norman in its style of architecture, hospitable in its dimensions, and Virginian, ragged and dilapidated, in all its general features. In front, a broad piazza, looking out upon Broad River and the mainland. On the left, an avenue of oaks and palmettoes meeting at the top, and forming nature's grand gothic arch, and extending as far as the eye can reach, and until the tall trees at the extreme end seem no larger than shrubs. On the right, one magnificent old oak, twenty-seven feet in circumference and nearly one hundred feet high; the monarch of the forest, grim and gray in his mossy beard, but youthful and joyous in the little green leaves still bursting out from the smallest branch. Beneath this old tree a company from the 1st South Carolina are encamped, and as you look at their palmetto huts and their dark faces, it is difficult to realize that you are not in Central Africa. Nothing but the national uniform and the Stars and Stripes disturbs the full realization. In front of the little encampment and along the bank of the river, a few of the heroes of the Florida raids are on guard, and straight and soldierly walk to and fro, but at this moment more intently observing the happy company gathering and forming into picturesque groups on this side of the river than the rebel sentinels on the opposite. Again to the left, and near the bank of the river, the brigade band of Col. Davis are discoursing the sweetest music, while a distinguished party composed of Gen. Saxton, Mr. Hay, Private Secretary of the President, a young and brilliant orator from New Jersey (the hero of my ride of last week), and one other person, are taking positions for the dance.

The sun has gone down; the moon has risen, the General and staff and distinguished visitors have gone, my own good horse and that of my fair companion, who is to accompany me back to Beaufort, are at the door. We are the last to leave the enchanting spot.

N. P.

"UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" AT HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE.

From The London Dial, May 30.

THE new ballet, "Blanchi e Negri," by Signor Giuseppe Rota, which was produced on Tuesday, is one of the most irresistibly diverting things which it has ever been our lot to witness. It is ostensibly founded on "Uncle Tom's Cabin," but the concoctor of the plot has laid himself under infinitesimal obligations to the imagination of Mrs. Beecher Stowe. In the first scene we have Nature—who, we may remark for the satisfaction of the scrupulous, does not appear in a state of ditto—exhibiting two infants, one white and the other black, who immediately come to blows, upon which Anglica, the Genius of Freedom, interposes, with no other immediate effect than that of causing the clouds of Time to close over the picture. Then we are introduced to a grand saloon, where a certain Mr. Thompson, President of an Emancipation Society, is holding a festival to celebrate the anniversary of its foundation, the revelries including one of the prettiest character dances for the *corps de ballet* ever seen, much enlivened by the graceful and piquant *pas seul* of Madlle Morlacchi, who, as Anglica, is ever present, inspiring all the personages with the most amible sentiments. Then two escaped slaves enter, but quickly the scene changes, and we find them in their cabin, where Legree pursues them with inveterate villany, and we are next taken, nobody can say how or why, to a slave market—though are quite content to remain there, seeing that we witness another character dance of infinite merit and drollery, and also see Madlle. Amalia Ferraris deports herself with all the wondrous fascination and crispness of step and graceful power which have won for her European fame, supported by Signor Ammaturo, a new appearance, who is, perhaps, the best male dancer in London since the days of St. Leon. Thence we pass to a warehouse where slaves, at first sleeping, are roused to rebellion by the angelic voice of Madlle. Trebelli, who sings exquisitely not a very remarkable *aria* behind the scenes. The ringleader brandishes the "British Proclamation of Freedom," which is a quarto volume of about six hundred pages—all the slaves read it, and the result is an insurrection, ending in the death of Legree. Then the clouds close in again, but open once more to allow us to take a peep into the future, and see a large number of black gentlemen in unexceptionable evening dress dancing with an equal number of white ladies in pink tarlatan. No human being can tell what the ballet is about; but no one can see it without being immensely diverted, and moreover really gratified, by seeing picturesque groups and admirable dancing. "Bianchi e Negri" is undeniably a great hit, and Signor Guiseppe Rota was called for three times during the evening to receive the grateful applause of the audience. The music, by Signor Paolo Giorza, is extremely pretty, Mr. William Calcott's scenery is very effective, the dresses are tasteful and excellently contrasted, and the entire performance is exhilarating and diverting beyond all description. This ballet will unquestionably draw the town, and thoroughly deserves the large measure of success which it has achieved.

RIGHT AND WRONG IN KENTUCKY.

Army Correspondence of The Christian Inquirer.

THERE is a minority of the Kentuckians, who are unconditional Union. I have talked with such persons to-day. They go for the Union first, and for slavery second. About one-half of the people claim to be Union when the Union army is here, but they are conditional. They look upon the government as especially commissioned to protect slavery; they look upon slavery as religiously sacred, being blinded by the false teaching of the clergy, while they are doubtful if in the future their peculiar interests will be better protected by the Federal government than by the Confederacy. So they are for the Union, if they can come back to the palmy days of Buchanan.

Even some Kentucky colonels do not see any treason in the position of Vallandigham. So, with one-fourth of the citizens rank secesh, one-half conditional Union, and one-fourth unconditional Union, Kentucky cannot be trusted to-day.

But do the unconditional Union men get any better protection from the government than the semi-rebels? They say they do not get so good protection as their rebel neighbors; for when the rebels make a raid, they suffer unconditionally, and the semi-rebels are protected, and take pay for their corn, cattle and horses. So there is really a premium to be a conditional Union man.

You may ask, "What about the slave question?" I was assured last week that the effect of the President's proclamation of January 7th is to increase the value of slaves. Before its issue, the slaves had only a nominal value in the State, but since then their market value has doubled. This is because the war-orders of the proclamation of September, enforcing the Confiscation Acts of Congress, are not now applied to Kentucky, but by special order, in accordance with the spirit of the proclamation of January, the civil law of Kentucky is allowed to cover a slave in a Federal camp, and a slave of a rebel, even, is not to be detained in the service of the United States *against* the will of his master. Only Saturday last, a Colonel commanding a post was ordered by his superior officer to turn the slave of a rebel out of camp, which was equivalent to turning him over to his master, who, like a blood-hound, was waiting to receive him.

Now, it is perfectly evident to any intelligent person, that there is nothing in the proclamation of January modifying in any way the act of Congress entitled "An Act to make an additional article of war, approved March 13th, 1862," which forbids, under the penalty of dismission from the service, "all officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor, who may have escaped from persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due."

Now, those of us who abominate this iniquitous system of slavery the most, very respectfully ask, why, in the name of law, the President's orders relating to slavery are not executed to their very letter in this semi-rebellious State of Kentucky? As officers and soldiers, we are all bound by the President's orders first, and secondly by all orders of our superiors under the President, not conflicting with his orders. We are thankful that there are officers now in Kentucky who will not order a fugitive returned to his master, directly or indirectly. They will protect him within their lines till he is taken away by the order of a superior officer. In doing this, they regard themselves as supremely loyal, and strictly obeying the act of Congress approved May 13th, 1862, and afterwards made an order of war by the President's proclamation.

When will this government cease to humor the disloyalty of the more selfish classes of Kentucky? The unconditional Union men wish the order of the President referred to carried out, even though it frees every slave in the State.

Coming South, a Northern-bred man quickly observes the difference in the habits of the people from those of the people of his own section of the country. There are farmers in Central Kentucky who are as intelligent and as thrifty as a slave system of labor will permit them to be. But the larger part are indolent, and trust to their slaves the carrying on of their farms. In the villages we see lounging about the stores and taverns a class of young men of sallow complexion, and a hound-like countenance. Such are the persons who lie around a camp, watching for their absent slaves. Watch-dogs is a very appropriate name for them. They may wear butternut pantaloons, and possibly a coat of darker hue, but their indolence and their meanness are alike conspicuous in their motions and looks. When they move from place to place, they ride a horse, and live by the labors of slaves, whose wages they steal to feed their own brutalized bodies. They are just the class of persons to breed sedition and rebellion.

Some of the slaves have very correct notions of practical affairs, and if they were not excluded from our lines, they would be happy to leave their masters and serve the Union.

Ask them if they would like to be free, and they cautiously say, "I reckon." But give them your confidence, assure them that you are in favor of their freedom, and their eyes will brighten up; they will tell you their true feelings, how they long to be free, and suffer when their children are sold from them, and what they will do if they can have their liberty. Said I to a man about forty years old, this morning, "Do you think you prize liberty as much as we do?" He answered, that he did not know why not. I could not see, really, how he could help feeling that life without the enjoyment of natural liberty is worthless. Said I, "Can you get a living if free?" He answered that, it he had his time, he would ask no favors of anybody.

And yet, talk to a man about freeing the slaves, and the reply is: "We cannot live with them free; they would steal everything."

I don't believe in the sincerity of the man who says, "We cannot live here with the slaves freed." It is the most shallow plea under heaven. They now do all the work; and they would do more, if they had the motive of gaining property, and the stimulus of supporting a family.

After hearing the expression of the slaves, I know that this doctrine is right, as held by Northern Abolitionists. It is the love of power and of money that keeps them in slavery, and makes slaveholders appear so mean-spirited when the subject of emancipation is mentioned.

Let me give you one instance showing what a boy will do for himself, who has once had the liberty of the camp for a short time.

This boy belonged to a rebel—one of those persons who, the East Tennessee soldiers say, "has no rights that a white man is bound to respect."

Ah! give me these East Tennessee boys. They are just right. His master lay about like a watch-dog, but the Colonel would have nothing to do with him, especially because of his rebel sympathies.

The master went for "civil process," and the order came from a superior officer to turn the negro out of the lines. The orders were sent from headquarters to camp, where the slave was protected, for him to report himself immediately. "What does the Colonel want of me?" "Never mind, but go straight along."

The orderly returned to his post, and the slave followed him at a distance; but ere he got out of camp, he dodged away and took to the woods.

He would risk everything, rather than be turned over to the "tender mercies" of his own master. An hour passed on, and the slave did not appear. Then there was a breeze, and a guard of fifteen men was sent after him, to bring him in dead or alive. The guard *went* and *returned*, but brought no slave; and as three days have passed since his departure, it is a pretty sure case that he will not be found. Now, that rebel master looks upon him as five hundred dollars run away, and we, rejoicing for him, think of a *boy* in the way to gain his freedom. God give him speed in flight, strength to endure, and shrewdness to plan, till he is beyond the reach of slave law.

Oh that the President had been, from the first, a deal more stern with the rebels of Kentucky! There was a time when he had a "right smart chance" to make them feel the rigor of law. Now they are such *plausible* Union men that it is difficult to reach them by the law.

C. T. C.

DEEDS OF DARKNESS UNDER THE RULE OF FEDERAL BAYONETS.

LOUISVILLE, KY., May 20th, 1863.

To the American Baptist Free Mission Society:

You cannot fail to be interested in some recent developments of Providence in this city. When the 34th Kentucky left, and the 25th Michigan entered on provost duty here, the freemen of color who had served their country with Union officers, were not allowed to cross the Ohio to return to their homes in the free States, though they had passes from the officers of the army to do so. There seemed to be a perfect system of kidnapping arranged between the jailors, the police and their accomplices, by which all these freemen, and those becoming free by the laws of Congress and the President's proclamation, should be gathered up, imprisoned, and then sold on a sheriff's warrant to pay jail fees. Policeman Gilchrist seems to have made this his business for a long time, playing into the hands of the jailors, Henry and William K. Thomas, who bought and then sold again many of the victims. Chaplain Payson, of the 25th Michigan, furnished me with the following notes of cases this morning, while on his way to the Provost-Marshal's office, which are only a sample of a multitude.

John Cooper, from Alabama, was in the rebel army as servant of a rebel Captain, and was captured by Capt. Steele, of Gen. Mitchel's brigade. After serving four months in the rebel army, and two in the Union army, Gen. Mitchel recommended Provost-Marshal Burks to give Cooper a pass to go through the Union lines, which was granted, and it served him till he got to Louisville. On his arrival, Gilchrist met him at the depot, arrested him, and took away his pass; led him to a squire's office, and then committed him to jail. After remaining there nine months, he was sold by Wm. K. Thomas to Mrs. Thompson, for $525. She treats him well, and he is willing to stay with her if he can have free papers.

Joseph Morrell, a lad about sixteen years old, from Mississippi, belonged to a Lieut.-Colonel in the rebel army, and served him in it four and a half months, when he was killed in the battle at Pittsburg Landing. Then Joseph went with Gen. Price to Corinth, serving him two months. He was captured at Booneville by Co. A, Capt. Griner, 31st Ohio, Gen. Thomas's Division, and remained with him four months. He was at the Perryville fight, and came from there to Louisville with the regimental sutler, being hired by him to drive. He put up the horse at a stable in Market street, and while near the door, talking with the keeper of the stable, a watchman named Hatson came up and questioned him, then said he would take him to a man who knew every person that came to the city, and he would give him a pass that would prevent any other watchman troubling him. He took him to jail direct, Oct. 15th, 1862, and next morning had him committed at the office of the Clerk. Here he was imprisoned for nearly six months, then taken to the Court House and sold by the Sheriff for $250, to Scott Jones, on the corner of Green and Second streets. Joseph refers to Lieut. Spencer at the U. S. Hotel, to prove his capture.

Soon after Col. Moore, of the Michigan 25th, became Provost-Marshal here, he ordered that the passes of free colored men and those free by the laws of Congress and the President's proclamation, should be respected when they came to the Ohio as well as elsewhere; and on occasion of a public sale of negroes, forbade the sale of several who were free by the President's proclamation. But they were sold notwithstanding. Col. Moore was directed by his superior officer here to rescind his order, and he did so. Another acted in his stead for a time, and many feared he was not to be restored; and that the condition of the contrabands was to be more hopeless. Here was an issue between the Federal and State arrangements to be decided. Col. Moore went and laid the matter before Gen. Burnside. The result is, he has returned to his post of duty; and a military commission has been appointed to look after all these cases, and secure their legal rights to them. The passes of the president of the commission are regarded as the free papers of those holding them, and will entitle them to go out of the State. Many who have bought the contrabands are allowed to retain them for the present, by becoming obligated to produce them when called for by the government. Whether this is intended to enable them to be held hereafter, because no friend looks them up, remains to be seen. I trust God will not suffer any reform to go backward. The freedom of the slaves of the rebels has been as "an act of justice." Let justice be done to them, and God will take care of the result.

[If we (*American Baptist*) were to take from our drawer all the tales of horror that have been sent us from the army, the picture would be too sickening. Let a single extract from a soldier's letter suffice:]

"The blacks who have been at work for the government from six months to a year, and have been repeatedly promised their pay only to be disappointed, have many of them lost all faith in these promises, have become misanthropic, and, their labor being forced, do not perform the work they might. Some have received a small amount, but do not feel that they have been treated justly. Last Saturday, before many of the men had eaten their dinner, we were ordered to get them out for a short job, after which they were promised the whole afternoon for themselves. They went down to their work, and performed four times the labor indicated, and I was then required, under penalty of arrest, to take men to coal up the ferry-boat. For reasons which I considered valid, I yielded and obeyed orders. One of my men, who came here with the promise, as he says, that he should return the next week for his family, had with great effort, after working seven weeks, succeeded in obtaining a pass from the Provost office, not to go after his family, but to go to the picket lines in order to send them word where he was. This was Sabbath morning. A call for work was made, his pass was disregarded, and he compelled to labor in the hot sun, smarting under a sense of injustice, and the inconsistency of calling this "freedom." This afternoon, a man not making sufficient haste in complying with an order, was used in a rough manner by the corporal, when he resisted, and must consequently be punished. He was suspended by his thumbs, his toes barely touching the ground, during which time I was ordered to give him thirty lashes. I was probably selected for this business because of my well-known anti-slavery principles. I refused to comply with the order, and expected the guard-house as a penalty for disobedience, but nothing has been done to me as yet. At the expiration of the hour, the man was cut down, when he fell like a dead man. He is alive, but very badly off."

CASTE IN THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

IN the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the Diocese of Pennsylvania, May 28, 1863. The hour fixed for the discussion of the repeal of the eighth revised regulation having arrived, the Secretary read the regulation:

"It is hereby declared that the African Church of St. Thomas is not entitled to send a clergyman or deputies to the Convention, or to interfere in the general government of the Church, this condition being made in consideration of the peculiar circumstances of said Church at present."—*Journal, June, 1775.*

"No Church in this Diocese in like peculiar circumstances with the African Church of St. Thomas, shall be entitled to send a clergyman or deputies to the Convention, or to interfere in the general government of the Church."—*Journal, 1843, Page 33.*

Rt. Rev. Bishop Potter deprecated the introduction of the question into the Assembly. It was one that always caused excitement; it was always an apple of discord.

Rev. Mr. Kirke, of Chester, the author of the resolution to repeal this regulation, then proceeded to advocate it, and to show the origin of the regulation. He spoke at length, but in so low a tone that we could only hear detached words and parts of sentences.

Rev. Dr. Howe wished to set himself right, and the Church right on this question. He found in the Constitution of St. Thomas's Church that no one but those of color were allowed any share in the government of their concerns. Until that article was repealed, they should have no connection with the Convention.

Rev. Mr. Kirke assured the gentleman that the congregation of St. Thomas regretted the existence of the article, and would, no doubt, repeal it.

Rev. Dr. Howe thought it was no more than just that they should. We were excluding them now from the Convention. They should find no fault with our course, since they excluded everybody else but themselves from their Church. When they cease doing that there could be no objection to their union with the Convention. Suppose that in the course of the year there is organized a German or an Irish congregation. Suppose that the Irish congregation, for instance, were to say that none but Irishmen should enter into communion with them. They would be wrong, and if they were to ask to come with us into this Convention on the same footing, we would be justified in excluding them.

Rev. Dr. Goodwin thought there was a strangeness of phraseology in the wording of the regulation, as if the writer did not know exactly what he meant, or was trying in vain to express himself clearly. He could not see what the words "peculiar circumstances" meant, especially when coupled with the phrase "at the present time." To take the latter phrase in its evident sense it meant that the "peculiar circumstances" existed when the regulation was composed. But was that any proof that they existed now? He would be willing to inquire what the "peculiar circumstances" were, and on their discovery to see whether they could not be obviated or set aside, so as to allow delegates from St. Thomas's to take seats in the Convention. If they were contained in the clause in the Constitution of the Church pointed out by the Rev. Dr. Howe, he, too, would ask them to repeal it.

At the end of an historical debate on some minor facts connected with the early history of St. Thomas's Church, Rev. Dr. Goodwin moved that the Church be not entitled to send deputies to the Convention until the objectionable clause was rescinded.

Mr. George M. Wharton arose to speak, but was interrupted and his voice rendered inaudible by shouts of "question, question!" Everybody seemed to have suddenly grown impatient of further debate. Twice or thrice Mr. Wharton endeavored to begin, but was as many times met by "question, question!" In the midst of these cries Mr. Wharton informed the gentlemen around him that it was time enough to call "question." He had a right to debate it, as well as others who were listened to patiently, and would not remain silent because somebody chose to shout "question!" He was again interrupted, but by order of the presiding officer, the Bishop, quiet was restored.

Mr. Wharton then proceeded. He said it was evident that this was not a time for calm and temperate discussion, even in the councils of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His reverend friend, Dr Goodwin, had animadverted on the author of the revised regulation, and seemed to think that he was ignorant of what he was saying. He would inform the reverend Doctor that the Regulation of 1795 was penned by Bishop White, whom no one would be so foolish as to say was ignorant. That of 1843 was by one whose knowledge of the English language was preeminent, who always had the happy faculty of expressing clearly what he had to say—by Horace Binney.

The "peculiar circumstances" then, were, without doubt, what they are to-day. Concerning the method of deciding the question, Mr. Wharton contended that a two-thirds vote was necessary; and besides, one day's notice was to be given before the question was brought up. The votes were to be given *viva voce*. The question was an excitable one, as the Rt. Rev. Father had said; but still, if his counsel was taken to decide the question in that way, there need be no trouble.

Dr. Howe offered an amendment to the original resolution offered by Mr. Kirke, and it was put in the following form:

Resolved, That the eighth revised regulation be rescinded, *provided* the church herein specified does not send deputies until its constitution is amended as required by the Convention.

After some further remarks, pro and contra, the yeas and nays were ordered. The laity voted by Churches. During the roll call the pastor of the colored congregation entered and took his station among the spectators. Many eyes were bent on him. He is a man of good presence, was well dressed, about 45 years of age, and wears a profusion of whiskers.

The result of the vote was the repeal of the regulation. It was announced by the Bishop.

For repeal—Clergymen	138
Against repeal—Clergymen	9
For repeal—Laymen	84
Against repeal—Laymen	12
Divided	9

The clergy and delegates of St. Thomas's Church will, therefore, be admitted into the Convention as soon as they repeal the obnoxious clause in their constitution which makes a distinction in color, and excludes white persons from the tenure of any office.

A STORY OF PATRIOTISM.

THERE lies before us a brief manuscript with signatures, of which the following is the story:

A gentleman of Massachusetts went to Newbern when Gen. Wilde went thither with a commission to raise negro troops. Two days before Gen. Wilde and Col. Beecher were to open their recruiting office, an acquaintance invited this gentleman, Mr. X., we will say, to ride a little way up the country, where a force of black men was at work for government, cutting timber. When they got there, the acquaintance told Mr. X. he must make them a speech; adding that they knew about Wilde's errand, and had been waiting and praying for him. So Mr. X. took the stump; began with an account of the recent baptism of a negro child in Plymouth church; proceeded in such an address as he thought best adapted to move his hearers toward a disposition to do their duty in the war; and closed by leaving with them Gen. Wilde's address on a card, putting it into the hands of a great, fine-looking black man, a minister among them. And having finished his visit, he went about his business. The next forenoon Mr. X. met Gen. Wilde and Col. Beecher.

"What the mischief have you been about?" said they. "Did we not tell you we were not going to open until to-morrow?"

"What's the matter?" said X.

"Why, here has been a colored man this morning, before we were ready to do anything at all, *and brought a hundred men with him, and they have all enlisted!*"

That was the gang of government wood-cutters. That is the spirit of the colored citizens of the Tar State.

—Well; when X. was coming away he espied a black woman trying to get past a line of guards to him. After some delay, he caused her to be passed through, as well as a negro minister with her, and she proceeded to hand him a brown paper parcel that jingled. And she said this was some money subscribed by the colored ladies of Newbern, to get a standard for the 1st Regiment of North Carolina Volunteers. It was a hundred dollars, she said; and they wanted a first-rate standard. "But you will need the money," replied X. "You had better keep the money. The government will supply the regimental colors." This quite distressed both the woman and the minister, and they insisted with tears in their eyes that it was their privilege and right to get the flag. And X., responding with some warmth to her enthusiasm, answered, "Madam, you shall have the very handsomest flag that the city of Boston can supply." This contribution, whose unprecedented jingle would at first indicate almost anything but money, was almost all in small silver—three-cent pieces, half-dimes and dimes—from the scanty savings of the slave subscribers. And the manuscript which we have alluded to is one of the subscription papers; the first subscription made by slave women in the United States for a flag for colored soldiers. Mark the brief, strong simplicity—even heroic in breadth, truth and plainness—and the perfect choice of arguments, of the ill-spelled and unpunctuated appeal. It was written by Marian, a cook. The handwriting, which we are sorry that we cannot give, though rugged and painful, as if the work of hands stiff with labor and unused to elegant literature, is singularly full of character, and as clear and strong as its sentiments. It is a significant and remarkable document: an epochal utterance from a race to whom, far more truly than to the whites of the United States, Laboulaye's title belongs—"The Uprising of a Great People." Here it is:

Sob Scription List

Ladays old and yong one and all I call on you in this time of our grat Strugle for Libaty.

We a Potion of us do in tend to go forward and try and Collect Money Enough to Purchase a decent flag for our Colard Solgers and Jentlemen for it is for [our] good and the good of our Daughters that our husbands and Sons do in List to fight our Battles and gain our Libatys therefore there Remans a work for us to do and Let us rise and do our parte Cheerfully Please giv me Som thing to aid us in this matter

Signed by Marian Hargit and others.

We know no white person who could have put that case so powerfully.—*Independent.*

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